NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Editorial Comment

The Bosses Fall

THERE is new hope in Boston, Philadelphia and Jersey City as a result of last month's election.

For longer than it is comfortable to remember, these places have provided sordid examples of political piracy and the perversion of self-government.

Even though the voting stage was rigged as usual in his favor, with the opposition divided among four other candidates, the voters of Boston succeeded in belatedly booting the notorious James Michael Curley out of the mayor's chair which he boasted he would occupy until he was 125 years old. At the same time they adopted a new basic charter which, by providing a run-off, will prevent future mayoralty candidates from winning with a minority of votes as Curley had done so often previously.

Results in Philadelphia were amazing for a city which for generations has suffered acutely from mistaken party loyalty, regardless of how stinking the party record was. On the heels of startling revelations of thievery, extortion and corruption in public office, both Philadelphia newspapers called on the voters to forget party and rebuke the Republican administration by electing Democrats to the offices of treasurer, controller, coroner and register of deeds, the only offices at stake.

The *Inquirer* invoked the Declaration of Independence, written in Philadelphia in 1776, and urged the people "to redeem their city from misrule by selfish, bloated political bosses." The *Bulletin* put the issue more calmly but squarely that those who "disapprove of tax thefts, mac ing, corrupt deals and other phase of the prevailing system" had n choice but to vote for the Democrats

The Democrats were elected, thu providing a financial watchdog fro an opposing party. The vote may als be suggestive of the people's desir for something better to the charte commission which currently faces th task of drafting a new charter t submit to the voters.

In Jersey City the situation i more complicated. Republican Gov ernor Driscoll was re-elected becaus he carried Jersey City, taking eve Boss Frank Hague's own ninth war against Hague's hand-picked puppe candidate. Hague promptly resigne as state leader of the Democrati party. But the cheers for the passin of "the last of the old-style bosses' seem, as usual, somewhat hollow Fact is, Hague was defeated b normally Democratic votes, just a Philadelphia's Democrats were elect ed by chronically Republican votes The staunch Democrats of Jerse City who gave the old man the fina boot were unquestionably motivate by the determination to keep th throne from his expiring grasp rathe than by any newly acquired under standing of what good governmen really means.

While there have been many civi victories in all parts of the country during the last several years, it woul be a mistake to be lulled into a feel ing that the war against political pi rates has been won. The rising powe

of the slot machine racket, described in this issue by Dayton McKean, is only one of many influences imperiling our way of life.

This Didn't Happen in Russia

WE scoff, very properly, at Soviet Russia's pretensions to free elections and democracy. But last month in Yonkers, New York, a proposed charter amendment which provided flat $500 raises for policemen and firemen resulted in the kind of thing that could spell the end of liberty.

Members of both forces, in uniform and out, brazenly electioneered for the amendment at the doorways and actually inside the polling places, chanting "Don't forget the boys in blue!", handing out cards, and debating loudly and abusively with citizens who protested that this activity was against the law. The uniformed policemen on duty either ignored the protests or actually joined in the intimidation.

When the same outrage was committed four years ago, there were loud protests from civic leaders. Among the acts reported then were the actual physical invasion of the curtained machine, "assistance" in pulling down the "Yes" lever, men peeking through the hole in a firehouse ceiling through which firemen slide down the brass pole to spy out how each citizen in the voting machines below voted on the amendment.

This year, however, no civic leaders or organizations except the League of Women Voters demanded that the law be enforced or that those who violated it be punished. No official, from the city manager and police commissioner on down, interfered or invoked a penalty.

Next time it is to be hoped that responsible city or county officials will muster enough courage at least to ask the state attorney general and the state police to supervise the election and protect the voters from such arrogant lawlessness by those who are supposed to enforce the law.

Plan of Action for Citizens

Decisive progress to strengthen our home towns, states needed to demonstrate superiority of the democratic way.

By CHARLES EDISON*

WE LIVE in a time of peril. We don't need to look further than the nearest newspaper to remind ourselves of that. We are living with the atom bomb in the midst of a not so cold war between our system and totalitarianism.

I am going to propose a course of action for citizens who are intelligent enough to be frightened. At the outset I think we can all agree on one thing we should not do. We should not jump into bed with a quick prayer asking the good Lord to give President Truman and a handful of men in Washington the wisdom to save us.

That isn't enough. If, as citizens of a democracy, we surrender our power of action to a small group in Washington, we will be confessing bankruptcy and borrowing a page from the totalitarian book. If the Lord answered such a prayer he might very well say, "I shall be glad to give President Truman the help he needs, but just what are you doing to help your country in this time of peril?"

Can we save our country simply by building the greatest pile of armaments in the history of the world? I do not think so. Let us remember that all of the peoples of the world or at least most of the peoples of the world want the same things: a peaceful life, adequate food, clothing and shelter, and a sense of freedom. We are competing with Russia for the sympathies of hundreds of millions who have never had those basic needs satisfied. America was built by millions who came here to find peace, freedom and a decent living. Those things are the heart of the American dream. Unless we can keep that dream alive our navy will be impotent, our planes will be useless, our bombs will be duds.

Of course, we must have the arms and be ready to use them. But still more important, we must put on a completely convincing demonstration of the vitality of our system, from the grass roots up. Aspiring peoples around the world will be more impressed by evidence that democracy really lives in our home towns than by our armed might or our diplomatic finesse.

No war, hot or cold, was ever won without close attention to the home front. In any battle for democracy the home front is right in the home town. If we don't make democracy work where neighbors share concrete problems and can talk about them over their own back fences, we're certainly not going to keep it alive in Washington or make it work on a world scale. Only as a responsible

*Mr. Edison, former secretary of the Navy and governor of New Jersey, is president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 29, 1949, St. Paul, Minnesota.

member of a local community which handles its own problems creditably can the individual learn the lessons and develop the civic competence needed to make him a safe member of the larger world community.

Consequently, the first and greatest responsibility of every American citizen is to make a thorough inspection of his own back yard. One look should be enough to convince any honest man that there is plenty of work to be done in his home town, where he can be most effective.

We Have Failed

The real peril of our times is neglect of local affairs. It is true that most of our cities and towns are better governed than they were in 1894, when the National Municipal League was founded. But we have not gone far enough, fast enough. It is possible to make progress and still be destroyed by failure to keep up with the times. The question for us is not how bad we were in 1894 but how we stack up today in the light of modern problems and requirements.

It is my studied conclusion that we are relatively worse off today than we were half a century ago because we have not strengthened our system to keep pace with new and increasing burdens.

One reason for this failure is that we have not learned how to be human though big. This is an age of big business, big unions, big cities, big budgets, big wars, big booms and big busts. Bigness has been decried as a curse. I prefer to consider it a challenge. It becomes a curse only when we fail to meet the challenge.

Modern industry is based on the more and more minute specialization and subdivision of labor and the combining of the labors of many in the assembly lines of production and distribution. The technique of the assembly line and mass production is essentially mechanical and tends to ignore the element of human personality.

A very significant line of discovery of recent times, however, reasserts the importance of the individual and his immediate physical and human environment to the continuing success of the mass production process. This has led to increasing awareness of the stake that industry and business have in the communities in which both their workers and their customers live.

Actually these conclusions only reenforce the teachings of common sense and common prudence. It should be obvious that any business or industry has always had a tremendous stake in the government, the politics and the character of the communities in which it was located. There are such matters as tax bills, police and fire protection, building and safety regulations, water supply, refuse disposal, public highway and transportation facilities and dozens of other acts and services of local government that affect business. Surely they are worthy of the attention of any businessman, in his business as well as in his civic capacity.

Let me give you one of the reasons why business, as it has grown bigger, has generally failed to give the attention it should to such local matters, or if it has considered them has often done so in an impersonal man-

ner that weakened local responsibility.

A century ago, in almost any American city, the principal stores, the largest factories, the newspapers, the public utilities and the banks were locally owned. The proprietors of these enterprises had roots in the community and, for better or worse, a positive voice in local affairs.

Today the situation is almost reversed. The largest stores and factories, the newspapers, the banks and the public utilities are often the property of great corporations with headquarters in a distant metropolis. These corporations have branch offices whose managers are men of competence and intelligence. But their voices are too seldom raised above a faint whisper on any issue of local government.

Business Should Help

There is an unwritten Hatch act which gags these potentially valuable citizens. Their home offices have told them, perhaps, that it's bad public relations to take sides. But I believe that that policy actually represents the worst kind of community relations. A corporation which denies its employees their rights as citizens is a menace to our American system.

And, by no means incidentally, the gag rule is a menace to the corporation. Two paragraphs from a little pamphlet just published by the National Municipal League explain why. This pamphlet is called *A Break for Business* and it tells, among other things, what good government with the League's council-manager plan means to business.

"Operating states and cities is a huge enterprise," the pamphlet says. "It cost $8,455,000,000 in 1940, $13,001,000,000 in 1947 . . . .

"How much the council-manager plan has saved the 15,000,000 people who enjoy its benefits cannot be measured accurately. On the basis of detailed reports from typical cities, the League conservatively estimates the annual gain for taxpayers at $250,000,000. If the plan were generally adopted the figure could reach $2,000,000,000 a year — with vastly improved public services."

The officers of our big corporations should know that their businesses are damaged when taxes are high; when government is wasteful, inefficient and unable to provide the services that business needs. I hope the day will come when the home offices will send memos to the local managers in places like Jersey City, Boston, Memphis and dozens of other cities saying, in effect, "See if you cannot help some of the local people organize to put across the council-manager plan. Give some time to this, and we'll approve a reasonable contribution of money."

A fantastic hope? Possibly, but it makes excellent sense. According to the figures just quoted, the cost of state and local government is going up, not down. It will keep on going up. The National Municipal League does not advocate cutting taxes to the bone. What we want is good government, providing good services. Business thrives under that kind of government. It is high time the leaders of business interested themselves in getting it.

Of course, I am not suggesting

hat our top business leaders are blind to civic responsibilities. Look at the names of the trustees of your hospitals, your principal welfare agencies; check the personnel of fund-raising committees for the Community Chest, the Red Cross and other organizations. Practically every business man of consequence will be found somewhere in the list.

Why is it that these same civic leaders are so rarely seen in any group that is working for fundamental reform of bad local government. I am reminded that when the National Municipal League was born in Philadelphia almost 56 years ago, a delegate from New York told about a friend of his who belonged to Tammany Hall, gave the Democrats $100 every year and quietly voted the Republican ticket. Another delegate got the floor. Men like the Tammany Republican, he said, "would sooner pay $100 per year to be let alone and sacrifice their manhood than they would to stand up and fight for it. These are the men to whom the people of this country may attribute the bad government that we are bothered with all the time."

Do you recognize any of your friends and acquaintances in this story? I have to confess that I do. A man doesn't have to pay $100 to be a victim of political blackmail. It is just as ignoble to pay the blackmailer in the coin of silence as in the coin of the realm. By their silence and inaction too many business men and other respectable citizens actually connive in perpetuating the conditions that are the greatest peril to America.

Make no mistake about the reality of this threat. It is infinitely closer and just as deadly as the Russian bomb. Too many of our cities, large and small, are still submitting shamefully to cynical political machines that are plundering the citizens. Big-time gamblers are calling the tune in city halls and on capitol hills while they finance an underworld that challenges and corrupts law enforcement. Respectable citizens shrug their shoulders.

Is this the way to give our children lessons in the meaning of democracy? Is this the way to make our country strong, to make our country worthy of the faith of peoples abroad?

Problems Unsolved

The record is only slightly better in cities that are not being bled by corrupt machines. We have simply failed to make government keep up with the advances in technology. The automobile, for example, has been with us for half a century and we still don't know what to do with it. It clutters up our downtown streets, cripples the flow of commerce. It enables well-to-do families to move out to the suburbs, and get off the city tax roll, while the taxpayers who stay at home must pay higher taxes to build new highways so the refugees can drive back to work every day. At the same time the refugee loses his political rights in the central city where his major business interests still lie, often at the mercy of political connivers who laugh at him because he is no longer a voter or a potential leader of political revolt.

Despite all our efforts to cope with the automobile, cities are dying of traffic strangulation in the central areas, while retail stores and manufacturing plants as well as prosperous home owners are moving to fringe areas, thus further reducing the financial capacity of the city to meet its needs.

Has the automobile turned out to be the master of man? Can't something be done? I should think so. We know enough about community and regional planning to solve the automobile problem and almost any other. But we have made no real headway because few of our cities enjoy genuine home rule, because our metropolitan areas are subdivided into an average of 114 separate governmental units, and because the ordinary citizen is more inclined to blow the horn of his traffic-stalled car than to rise up in wrath and majesty to demand constructive action. And if he did rise, the effect of his vote and his voice would be limited by the artificial boundaries of the town in which he sleeps—but works only in his garden.

State Government Antiquated

Back of our chaotic local governments stands the state government—the most antiquated, incompetent part of our whole American system. The movement for municipal reform which has brought the modern council-manager plan to nearly a thousand communities has left state governments virtually untouched, despite periodic investigations and reports.

My own state of New Jersey has doubtless made more spectacular progress by revising its 1844 constitution than has any other state in recent years. We now have the country's most modern court system and we trust our governor with most of the power he needs.

But we still have an 18th century legislature in which a majority of the senators represent 15 per cent of the people. I am told that almost every other state legislature also is badly unrepresentative and unresponsive to the needs of the people as a whole.

Why don't we then amend our state constitutions to make state government conform to the facts of urban life in the 20th century? In many states the provisions for revision are so difficult that a small entrenched minority of pine forest senators can bar a constitutional convention. This is constitutional tyranny, frustrating the will of the majority, and—once again—imperiling our democracy.

I believe firmly that the best government is the government that is nearest the people. There is a natural tendency for power to gravitate toward Washington. We must choose, and fairly soon, between centralization and local self-government.

The choice will not be accomplished simply by saying we prefer self-government. And it won't help any to denounce the federal bureaucracy. The only defense, as Jefferson told us more than a century and a quarter ago, is to strengthen our state and local institutions and make them worthy of the responsibilities they ought to bear.

The trouble is that strengthening those institutions is going to require

come hard decisions and some real sacrifices. Individuals and groups that have profited from outmoded constitutions, or from insulation in a tight little village against the sinful politics of the central city, have got to take a new and longer view of their own and the public welfare. If we cannot make the sacrifices required to achieve modern self-government, we haven't the slightest chance of maintaining freedom and democracy in Washington or extending them to other parts of the world.

And I must remind you again that we cannot make self-government as good as we tell foreign nations it is unless many thousands of good citizens enlist for the duration. The opportunity today is at peak level. From hundreds of cities the League is receiving calls for advice and guidance. Small groups of voters are organizing with few resources except courage and decency to fight for basic reforms. Victories are being won, but many campaigns are being lost for lack of the support that should have been given.

The Old, Old Story

The reluctance of business men to join the fight for sound government is not a new thing. When the National Municipal League last came to Minneapolis, in December 1894, Vice President Charles Richardson of Philadelphia reported that the eastern delegation was smaller than he had hoped. Then he explained:

> Some of you may have had the impression that business was dull in the eastern states, but I think if you could have read the letters which came to us in response to the very numerous invitations we issued you would be amazed to find how all the gentlemen are staggering under a load and pressure of business.
>
> In nearly every case all we could obtain was a pathetic statement of how the writer was almost rushed to death, accompanied by a few words of good will and good wishes, as remarkable for their brevity as they were for their sympathy and faith in our cause.
>
> I think no one could read those letters without feeling the need which we have in this country of men of means and ability who are willing to devote a large portion of their time to something better than the mere making of money.

I am happy to report a marked improvement since 1894. We have a much larger number of busy and important men from the east coast and the west coast with us in the Twin Cities than we did 55 years ago. That is progress. But since the task ahead is infinitely bigger than the work behind us, we need to enroll many more in the east, in the west and in every other part of the land.

We all know of the great acts of statesmanship, courage and self-denial that went into the making of the Republic. I firmly believe that these times call for no lesser acts by the men and women whose achievements have marked them as the natural leaders of the community. Their names, their efforts and their resources must be used to combat the peril that lies in our back yards. We must rekindle the fire of American democracy so that it becomes a beacon light for all the people on earth.

Labor's Stake in Civic Affairs

Political Action Committee director tells why unions fight to make communities better places for a good life.

By JACK KROLL*

MOST of the years of my life have been spent in what might be called a reform movement.

In our time labor has reformed the thinking of many employers who said they would never have anything to do with labor unions. It has convinced them that they had to reform their labor relations policies and that it was good business for them to do so.

As recently as November 8 the organization I represent—the CIO Political Action Committee — participated actively in the reformation of the city government of Philadelphia and in the reformation of Frank Hague in New Jersey—Boss Hague is a thoroughly reformed character along with Boss Crump of Memphis, Tennessee, and some others I could name.

I would like to discuss briefly why labor is interested in government reform. And when I use the word "reform" I am using it in the broad sense to mean good government. By it, I mean essentially the establishment of government responsive to the will of the people who live under that government — whether it be city, state or national.

Labor is interested in good government for the very simple reason that it feels the effects of bad government more than any group. People who work in the great industrial plants and the small workshops of the nation, together with the farmers who work on the land, make up the great bulk of the American population.

Together the workers and farmers of this country produce everything we have from the complicated automobiles we drive to the bread we eat. Our livelihood and our security depend to a large extent upon what government does. If a city has poor police protection or bad fire protection it is the poor people of the city who feel the lack the most. If garbage collection is bad, if the water and sewage systems are inadequate, if the schools are overcrowded it is the working people and the children of the working people who bear the burden. They do not have the resources to send their children to private schools or install fancy garbage disposal units or buy spring water or hire private watchmen.

We institute governments to do for all of us what none of us can do for himself. And simply because there are so many of us who have to work for a living, we are vitally concerned with the kind of government we have.

*Mr. Kroll, national director of the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has been a civic leader in his home city, Cincinnati, and still is a member of the board of the City Charter Committee, in addition to his long career in labor union work. This article is his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, November 28, 1949, St. Paul, Minnesota.

That is true on all levels. And that is why our CIO Political Action Committee is active on all levels—in the cities, in the states and in the nation as a whole. And I think it is fair to say that we have made a substantial contribution to good government on all these levels. Let me cite as the most recent instance the election in Philadelphia.

We can all agree that Philadelphia has the reputation of having one of the worst city governments in America. On November 8 there were four city offices up for election —city treasurer, city controller, registrar of wills and coroner. They weren't the top offices, but they were important posts in the city administration.

Labor Educates Citizens

The labor organizations in Philadelphia got busy. They broke down their membership lists by wards and precincts and checked them all for registration. Every member, as well as members of his family, who was not registered was urged to register and qualify for voting.

The unions printed literature telling its members what the issues were, telling them about the tax rate, about the water system, about the antiquated street car system, about all the other problems that confronted the city administration. And they told the people about the rottenness down at city hall. They exposed the scandal and the corruption and the misuse of public office by people who were supposed to be public servants.

They distributed this literature house to house throughout all the wards and precincts in the city. And then on election day they visited all the houses to get out the vote. Informed people have no power unless they express themselves at the polls on election day.

The result in Philadelphia was that the four people labor backed for these city offices were elected by a substantial margin. In addition four labor-backed magistrates were elected and two men, one of them a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were elected to the city council.

Get Out and Fight

This illustrates a point I want to make. It's a point I have been making all over the country to our union conventions everywhere. It isn't enough to wish for good city government or even to draw up fancy blueprints for city governments. If you want good government you've got to go out and fight for it. And that's what we're doing.

We're fighting for decent, honest, progressive government down on the ward and precinct level and—with all due respect to the planners—that's where the fight is going to be won.

I think it's a tribute to the political forces of labor that in the November elections there was greater interest than in any similar period in our recent history. More people registered, more people voted, more people took an interest in the outcome. And the outcome was good. The outcome will always be good when people take an interest in their government.

It has always been true, I think, —and it is especially true in the case of the democracies—that when the people neglect their government, corruption and self-interest take over. When people sit home and say "let George do it," George always turns out to be somebody who is interested in his own welfare and not the welfare of the people.

Participation by people in their government is the first essential of good government. Democracy can survive only if people take an interest in it and work on its behalf. We can have magnificent constitutions and city charters and models of government—but they are worthless unless people use them and make them live.

Democracy, it seems to me, is more than just a system of government. It is a spirit of government —the spirit that is willing to grant to other people the same rights and privileges we ask for ourselves.

In my home town of Cincinnati we have a city manager form of government. I have watched it since its inception and I have been intensely interested in its operation.

I am convinced that an essential part of any city manager plan is a small city council, elected on a city-wide basis. The members of the council should be well paid and qualified people and they should be representative of the entire city rather than any one portion of it. Our city manager plan is working well. And it is working well in the more than 900 cities where it is in operation.

As far as proportional representation is concerned, we have found that, by and large, it has given representation to large groups that previously have not had that representation. I am aware that some places have tried this form of voting and discarded it. I think that has been due to the fact that it is hard for people to understand just how it works.

Proportional representation, I think, can work provided the emphasis is on the city or the state as a whole. It would be unfortunate, I think, if group or sectional interests were given undue weight in the selection of public officials.

Labor Can Contribute

Labor is concerned with the selection of good city and state officials. It wants honest, able and enlightened men in office regardless of where they come from. And we think that in the ranks of labor, too, there are such honest and able and enlightened people who would make good public servants. Already, as a matter of fact, more than 700 of our members are holding elected and appointed office today.

We think we have a great deal to contribute to our country, not because we are labor but because we are American citizens. Our political activity is a contribution to our democracy. It has served to awaken large groups of the population to the necessity of participation. And it has educated literally hundreds of thousands of people in the way our government works.

We have made government something real and understandable to our people. We have brought it in-

to their homes and out of the dusty textbooks. In doing that I think we have done a great deal to strengthen our democracy. Our people know what it means and they can fight better for democracy because they know what it means. It has life and substance and reality.

That is why, for example, our last CIO convention in Cleveland adopted a program designed to break down the barriers between government and the people.

Labor's Program

We instructed all our political action affiliates to work for a program that includes direct election of the president and vice president.

We asked for revision of registration laws to remove all the red tape and petty restrictions. We feel that the only purpose of registration laws is the prevention of fraud. When they go beyond that they become a stumbling block.

We want direct and open primaries so that people can choose their own candidates and so that men and women who want to run for office can present their cases to the voters.

We think state legislators and city officials should be better paid so that people who want to make a career of public service will be attracted to these very important jobs and so that working men and farmers can afford to go to state legislatures free of economic pressure.

I was happy to note that in the recent elections two states—California and Kentucky — approved higher pay for their state legislators and state officials. I hadn't expected such quick action on our convention resolutions.

Labor is engaged in political action up to the hilt. We are in political action because the employers put us there and we're going to stay in political action. Every day more and more local unions are launching active campaigns to get their members registered, to inform them on the issues, and to get them to vote on election day.

In more and more communities people are taking an active part in politics and they are changing the complexion of our political life in many of the larger cities. And we are doing all this not because we seek any special favors or special concessions. We are doing it as a matter of good government and good Americanism.

We are not interested in having the police force organize our unions. Neither do we want them to break up our picket lines or shoot our people as they did in Chicago on Memorial Day, 1937. Nor do we want them to invade our union halls as they did in Kansas City, Kansas, just last year.

We are not interested in securing special tax concessions or advantageous rates from the city utilities commissions and we are not seeking to control liquor licenses for partisan political advantage.

Labor unions are dedicated to bettering the lives of our members. We are interested in wages and hours of work and the conditions of work.

And we are interested in something more. We know that we are

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Who Gets the Billion Graft?

Slot machines and other rackets revealed as pursuing policy of corrupting public officials throughout U.S.

By DAYTON D. McKEAN*

THERE is something rotten in American local politics when the officers of the American Municipal Association, speaking for 9,500 American cities, throw up their hands and say that the problem of keeping organized country-wide crime syndicates out of their local politics is too much for the cities themselves to cope with.

On September 21, 1949, Carl H. Chatters, executive secretary of the association, made public a letter he had written for the association to the attorney general of the United States asking federal intervention. "The matter," he wrote, "is too big to be handled by local officials alone; the organized criminal element operates across state boundaries on a national scale."

That organized crime has nationwide, even international, organizations was clearly established by the California Special Crime Study Commission, which discovered that the slot machine manufacturers, distributors and operators were to hold a joint convention at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago on January 17, 18 and 19, 1949. The commission was able to obtain admission to this convention for its investigators, who posed as slot machine operators from California. Also present were slot machine men from every state and from fourteen foreign countries.

It was discovered that the slot machine industry has its trade associations like other businesses. The Coin Machine Institute, or CMI, is apparently a sort of peak association. Its current activities in American state and local politics may perhaps best be explained in the words of the California Crime Commission:

> In advertising its convention to the trade, CMI laid great stress on the fact that the staff of its legal department would be available for personal conferences during the three days of the convention. These consultations, however, were by appointment only and were held with operators individually and in groups from the same areas. Although CMI's advertising invited all "coin men" to these conferences, in practice the attendance was very thoroughly screened with a view to limiting it only to those actively engaged in the racket. These "legal conferences" proved to be real seminars in the corruption of public officers. Matters discussed included the best ways of paying graft to law enforcement officers. Several alternative methods were seriously argued, such as: (1) the payment of a flat sum periodically (2) "cutting in" public officers for a percentage of the operation (3) heavy "campaign con-

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tributions" both before and after election. . . .

From these extraordinarily frank discussions of corruption, the commission's investigators ascertained that *it is the common practice of the slot machine operators throughout the country to pay 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their gross profit for protection and graft,* although the method of payment varies according to local circumstances. If the gross "take" of the national slot machine racket is in the neighborhood of $2,000,000,000 annually, as it probably is, it is evident that 20 per cent of this amount, or *$400,000,000, is being spent annually by the slot machine racketeers for bribery and corruption of public officers,* and that additional large amounts are being spent on a corps of lobbyists and a legal and public relations staff.[1]

Slot Machine Boss

The reputed head of this two- or three-billion dollar business, which is expending between four and six hundred million dollars a year to corrupt state and local officers, is one Frank Costello, who was born in Cosenza, Italy, in 1891.[2] His name keeps appearing in the press in connection with the politics of various cities and states.

As Robert S. Allen put it in his introduction to *Our Sovereign State,* "The underworld tentacles of gambling overlord Frankie Costello are to be found in state government from New York to Florida and from Louisiana to California." He seems to be a maker of Supreme Court justices in New York, and when he puts on—at a night club which he reportedly owns — a $100-a-plate dinner for charity, not only does the head of Tammany Hall appear but also five state Supreme Court judges, three judges of lower courts and one former judge.[3]

In the recent campaign for mayor of New York City, Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate, charged that Costello is the real power in Tammany Hall today. He is supposed to have connections with Charles Binaggio, reputed gambler, who appears to be the rising machine boss of Kansas City, likely to replace Jim Pendergast.[4]

Virgil W. Peterson, formerly of the FBI and now director of the Chicago Crime Commission, has charged that Costello was an ally of the late Huey Long and took over the slot machine racket in Louisiana at Huey's invitation. It has also been charged that Costello backed the revived Long machine in its successful attempt in 1948 to elect Huey's son Russell as United States senator and his broth-

[1]State of California, *Second Progress Report of the Special Crime Study Commission on Organized Crime,* Sacramento, March 7, 1949, pages 58-59. Italics in the original. The commission goes on to adduce other evidence that 20 per cent of the gross is the commonest amount paid in graft, and that the national gross may be nearer three than two billions of dollars a year, so the total amount paid in graft may run to $600,000,000 a year.

[2]*New York Times,* October 23, 1949. There is some doubt of what his real name is. It may be Castiglia, Stello, Saveria or Saverio.

[3]Ferdinand Lundberg, "Aurelio: The People's Choice," *Harper's,* January 1944, pages 129-134, and *Newsweek,* February 7, 1949, pages 22-23.

[4]Lester Velie, "New Menace in Missouri," *Collier's,* October 29, 1949, page 86. Binaggio got his political training as an aide to the late Johnny Lazia, who headed the gangster forces in the Pendergast machine.

er Earl as governor. Through his henchman, Philip (Dandy Phil) Kastel, Costello is presently seeking to defeat Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans, who has driven the slot machines out.

Huey Long had ambitions to be an interstate boss, and branched out into Arkansas and Mississippi before his death; Frank Costello, with his base in New York and with his control of the national slot machine racket, seems to be rising as another interstate boss, even though in public, while he calls himself "king of the slot machines," he also modestly asserts that he does not have enough influence to kill a parking ticket.

Other Rackets Flourish

If the slot machine industry takes in some two or three billions a year, what about other forms of illegal gambling? The numbers racket is probably about the same size. The United Press, during the summer of 1949, made a survey among some cities where it had correspondents and concluded that the "take is at least $2,000,000,000 annually."[5] If the slot machine operators pay 20 per cent of their gross proceeds in graft, it is only reasonable to assume that the numbers operators must pay as much.[6]

Although the bookmakers, tip-sheet publishers, wire service operators and all the rest associated with horserace gambling appear never to have held a national convention comparable to the Chicago slot machine conclave, it seems probable that they do an annual gross business bigger than that of slot machines and numbers together. The amount legally wagered at racetracks varies from year to year from a billion to two billions of dollars, and the estimates of the amounts bet illegally through bookmakers run from five to fifteen billions.

Nobody knows how many bookmakers are operating in the thousands of cities and towns throughout the United States, and no doubt the number changes from time to time, even in the same city, as the police show varying degrees of interest in the bookies' activities. New York City, apparently, has several thousands. On Monday night, October 2, 1949, Newbold Morris spoke on the radio about the tie-up between bookmaking and Tammany. By Wednesday morning he had a list of 1,080 locations which had been voluntarily turned in or telephoned in to his headquarters. How many more thousands an alert and honest police force could produce is anybody's guess. And it is also anybody's guess how many millions of dollars the bookmakers and all of their allies pay in graft, but it is common knowledge that no horseroom or bookie can operate for more than 24 hours without police protection.[7]

[5] *New York World-Telegram,* July 30, 1949.

[6] A sociologist, William Foote Whyte, has an interesting chapter entitled "The Social Structure of Racketeering" in his *Street Corner Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1943) pages 111-146. He found that in the slum area of Boston which he studied the police patrolmen and plainclothes men were paid five dollars a week for each numbers drop; each sergeant, ten dollars. This rate is probably typical.

[7] In Atlantic City 25 horserooms were proved by the Bureau of Internal Revenue

When Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York was once asked by a reporter whether there was not some permanent method of ridding the city of organized gambling he replied that he knew of none, but he thought the atomic bomb had possibilities. This fatalist or defeatist attitude is common. It is sometimes put in some such form as that people just will gamble—or that gambling is part of human nature—and that therefore its suppression is hopeless.

Whether or not there is anything in this position it seems to be clear from the record of many cities that organized, commercialized gambling can be suppressed by an honest and alert police force. And it seems to be equally clear that where it is not, there is an inevitable expansion of political power on the part of the underworld: it develops its own government, with its own rules, sanctions and officials. At some point it can influence or control the government. When this occurs local democracy is, of course, an illusion; there is none.

Perhaps there is no condition more dangerous to popular government than a widespread attitude that public officials are corrupt and that the action or inaction of government is to be obtained not by right but by purchase. The collapse of the Nationalist government in China seems to have been due in part to its having been riddled with corruption.

Virgil Peterson, of the Chicago Crime Commission, says that the handbook operators in Chicago can produce a minimum of 200,000 votes and virtually unlimited financial support for candidates favorable to them. These are enough votes in most municipal elections in Chicago to form a balance of power.

Although poor forms of state and city government make machine politics natural and easy, and although better forms make popular government less difficult, still no mere form of government will produce honesty and integrity. Kansas City under Pendergast proved that once again. If officials are weak or dishonest, corruption will flow through any form of government.

The Boss Won't Die

Of the delivery of premature funeral orations over the boss and the machine there appears to be no end. Some years ago Walter Davenport labelled Boies Penrose the "last of the great bosses." The *Newark Evening News* ran a series of articles on Frank Hague during the summer of 1949, "The Last of the Bosses," and then the aging boss, using the issue of bingo, came within 80,000 votes in 1,690,000 cast of electing his hand-picked candidate for governor of New Jersey. When a biography of the incomparable Jim Curley of Boston was recently published one reviewer headed his piece "The Last of the Bosses." And of course when Curley lost by a plurality of 13,000 in a total vote of 298,000 the United Press sent out a dispatch beginning with the "last of the bosses" business.

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to have paid the Johnson machine $160 a week each for protection or $208,000 a year. See E. L. Irey and W. J. Slocum, *The Tax Dodgers* (1948) page 247. The Johnson machine is still operating, although under different management.

But if Edward J. Flynn is not the boss of the Bronx, who is? By all accounts New York State has no one big boss — unless it is Costello — but a number of little ones, such as Irwin Steingut in Brooklyn, Livingston Platt and William Bleakley of Westchester County, J. Russell Sprague of Nassau County, W. Kingsland Macy of Suffolk County, and Thomas Broderick of Monroe.[8]

"Politics, Pennsylvania style," says one recent writer, "is tricky, intricate and largely of the boss-ruled variety."[9] Old Joseph Grundy, assisted by the Pew millions, still bosses the Republican machine nominally headed by Senator Edward Martin who once said that he learned his politics at Boies Penrose's knee. The same commentator says that Pennsylvania has "a legislature with a built-in lobby that manipulates the little statesmen like puppets on a string . . . some lulus in graft and corruption, and a web of political machines . . ."[10]

Byrd is boss of Virginia, Talmadge of Georgia, Earl Long of Louisiana, Arthur H. Samish of California, Harold E. Mitchell of Connecticut. The O'Connells rule Albany, Jake Arvey is boss of Chicago, George Parr governs a domain of eighteen counties in southern Texas, and so on. The bosses come in all sizes, from statewide to precinct, and they adjust their methods to their environment; Byrd and Samish, for example, use quite different means to control the legislatures of Virginia and California, but they both control.

Bosses do not always win, of course; Crump and Hague are currently smarting from defeats. Hague has announced—for the second time in his career—his retirement from politics; it is to be hoped that this time he means it. The system, however, continues; the Republican machine in Philadelphia has survived the passing of the Camerons, Quay, Penrose and the Vares, as well as many a series of sordid scandals. The defeat of several Republican candidates in Philadelphia on November 8 may indicate that Philadelphia is not quite as corrupt and contented as it was in Lincoln Steffens' day.

We may hope that some boss now operating is indeed the last, but on the record the safest word to use is not *last* but *latest*.

Citizens Must Act

The system of boss and machine will not be ended either by the cities' crying for federal intervention or solely by the introduction of new forms or devices of government, such as the council-manager plan, the referendum, the direct primary or woman suffrage, helpful as all those things are. If it is to be ended, the end must come through a revival of the democratic spirit in American states and localities. Citizens must want honest government enough to work for it—which means want it enough to elect honest men to office.

Doubtless our public morals are in

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[8]For a more extended account of these and other bosses in New York see Warren Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State* (1948).

[9]Herman A. Lowe, *Our Sovereign State,* Robert S. Allen, editor (1949), page 105.

[10]*Ibid.,* page 97.

The People Can, Must Do It

A fighting mayor calls for prompt action to end state and federal usurpation of powers and duties of cities.

By WILLIAM F. DEVIN*

DURING the past 175 years great changes have taken place in our nation—changes in transportation and communication, in industry and business, in standards of living. Many of these changes have been beneficial, others have created detriments greater than their benefits. Today in these United States man loves freedom just as much as he did in 1776, but he is more confused about how he can obtain it.

The framers of the constitution placed the foundation of our government upon the solid rock of personal freedom. They patterned their concept of freedom upon the doctrine of the sovereignty and dignity of the individual. They took great pains to see to it that all rights remained in the people save those which were expressly granted by the people to the state. They stood on the principle that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. Despite the changes in industry, economics and the social order which have since occurred, those basic principles still are the vital elements in freedom.

Our form of government is established upon the assumption (which at times seems a violent assumption) that the people are interested in their government. If this assumption be false, then our form of government will not guarantee us freedom. Under the constitution, people can have just and good government if they want it and will work for it. Likewise, they can have bad government if they want it. But if they do not care enough about their government to understand it and work for it, then soon that which they have the right to choose shall be taken away and they will receive what is given to them whether they like it or not.

How does this apply to my city and home rule? Today, 60 per cent of the nation's population lives in cities and towns. No unit of government deals more intimately and frequently with the daily lives of a majority of American citizens than the municipality. Municipal officers are closer to the needs and desires of the people than any other elected officials. We are constantly available to them and they feel free to let us know their desires.

Yet, with these responsibilities and with this direct accountability to the citizens, the city has less power and independence than almost any other political body. The sovereignty of the state is preserved in the federal constitution, the power of the federal government is being increased by

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leaps and bounds, but the city still remains the creature of the state. The inherent right of local self-government which prevailed in colonial times seems to have disappeared during the 19th century. In its place arose the theory of legislative supremacy. City charters were granted, amended and revoked solely by state lawmakers. The city was considered the child, and too often the stepchild, of the state.

Legislatures Control Cities

The basic principle of our government is that the people themselves are the source of all power and that government has only those powers given to it by the people. No power can rise higher than the source. Therefore, the closer the power is to the source, the higher will that power be. Now with that formula, where are the levels of government? First comes municipal, for that is close and responsive to the people; next comes the state; and finally the federal government with only those powers expressly granted to it. Yet there has arisen a false concept of the levels of government. The federal government is often referred to as the highest level. Below that is the state level, and at the bottom is the lowly municipal level.

As a result of this false concept state legislatures all over the nation have assumed responsibility for running cities and towns. They have told cities what they can and cannot do wholly within their own city limits; they have provided services and created obligations for those cities without regard to the desires of the citizens. But when cities have asked for powers to do things which concern only themselves, they have been denied. The state legislatures have taken the position that they know better what is good for cities.

Most state legislatures are controlled by non-urban representatives. By what reason or right should rural representatives determine for a city policies which affect only the citizens of that city?

If I should tell you that in one state 59 per cent of the people produced 75 per cent of the state's income and paid 90 per cent of all the taxes in the state but had only a 25 per cent voice in the government of the state, you would probably reply, "That's impossible under our constitution." Yet taking the 48 states as a whole, this is what is happening. In other words, in effect one third of the people have no representation at all in their state legislatures. The only crime of which they are guilty and for which they have been disenfranchised is that they are unfortunate enough to live in cities and towns.

In the state legislatures problems affecting cities and towns are decided by the rural representatives who comprise 75 per cent of the legislators. Rural representatives can effectively block reapportionment, refuse to authorize local actions, upset local ordinances, preempt local tax sources and destroy home rule. I doubt if there is a single state legislature that has not been guilty of usurping powers which rightfully belong to the cities and towns.

Industrialization of the nation has driven people, production and wealth

into the cities. The United States has become an urban nation. In 1790, 95 per cent of the four million population was rural and 5 per cent urban. As the nation grew the bulk of the increase was in urban population, but these new urban millions did not get their fair share of representation, for although state constitutions provided for periodic reapportionments, the predominately rural representatives blocked and continue to block such reapportionment.

The scope of government in colonial days was quite different from what it is today. With the great changes that have taken place in the industrial and machine age, and with the changing concept of our social and economic order, government has been forced to assume many new and different services and functions. Compare the town government of New York or Philadelphia in 1800 with the government of any American city today. In 1800 even the most fundamental functions of police and fire protection were scarcely attempted by the cities, while public health was quite unprovided for and municipal improvements almost unknown. Even in 1810 New York City, having a population of about 100,000, expended but a dollar per capita per year for all municipal purposes.

Today the city provides police, fire and health service, nurses, doctors, streets, street lights, paving, sewers, housing, water, light and power, mass transportation, building inspection, sanitation, milk, meat and restaurant inspection, snow removal, parking, traffic control, pensions, port facilities, air terminals, parks, libraries, schools. Yes, government has expanded and become more complex. But if the people want these services, and are willing to pay for them, why should their officials not have the power to provide them?

If democracy or representative government as we know it means anything, it means that the people have a right to choose how and by whom they will be governed. It means further that if they want to expand their government's functions to include proprietary interests for their welfare and convenience, they likewise have the right to do that as long as it does not violate the basic law of the land—the constitution. When the people are denied those rights, whether it be by a despot who would usurp the throne, or by ruse or deceit, or by usurpation by a minority group, or by whatever means, their representative government to that extent is lost and they no longer can claim a government of, by and for the people.

How May Voters Act?

What then can be done to correct this inequitable apportionment of representation in our legislatures?

This has been done in the state of Washington. In King County where I live the population in 1930 was 30 per cent of the state's total population, but the county had only 17 per cent of the representatives in the legislature. That year an initiative measure was filed demanding reapportionment and in 1931 it became a law. As a result the county's representatives were increased from 17 to 24 so that today the county

has 27 per cent of the state's population and 24 per cent of the representatives in the legislature—truly more equitable.

The same action can doubtless be taken in other states. In those states which do not have the initiative, an aroused and informed electorate can accomplish the same results. This requires leadership and work—work by city officials and by civic groups —by the people, if you please, who are the government and the power.

The American Municipal Association and the United States Conference of Mayors are aware of what this rural and state domination of cities means not only to cities but to democracy. These organizations are carrying on the fight for just representation and for home rule in every state of the union. They cannot succeed in this battle, however, without the help of the people in every community. Legislators, representatives and public officials are the servants of the people. But if the people have no interest, or are unwilling to work for good government, those servants may soon become masters and the people the servants. When that day comes democracy is dead.

Home Rule Problem

In Washington there is a constitutional provision granting to cities over 20,000 the right to frame their own charters subject, however, to the constitution and laws of the state. Washington is considered one of the 28 states with constitutional home rule. But in the last session of the legislature the cities through their organization, the Association of Washington Cities, fought for legislation which would permit cities and towns, if they chose, to establish their own civil service systems, provide off-street parking, engage in urban redevelopment and close city offices on Saturdays. Every one of those proposals was denied by the legislature, yet not one of them could be considered a matter of statewide concern.

Why then were they defeated? Because there were well organized and well financed pressure groups at work on the legislators. The fire and police lobby defeated the civil service bill because it didn't want its state civil service law interfered with. That law, incidentally, gives the police and fire chiefs in small towns more political power than the mayor and elected officials. The garage and parking lot operators succeeded in defeating the off-street parking bill because they feared it might hurt their business. The urban redevelopment bill did not even get out of committee. The Saturday closing bill was defeated by rural legislators who didn't want their court houses closed on Saturdays.

Each of these bills was enabling legislation only, and no city or town need adopt it if it chose not to. Still the legislature said: "No, even if your people want it, we won't let you have it." And this is in a so-called constitutional home rule state.

I recognize that cities and towns cannot be permitted to become independent kingdoms. I also recognize the importance of integrated state government and the part that cities must play in that pattern. But I cannot understand why cities, represent-

ing a majority of the people who in turn are the source of all political power, should be compelled to go to the legislature with their hats in their hands and plead in suppliant tones, "Please, Mr. Legislators, won't you let us handle our own local affairs as we see fit?"

If we are to have a government of the people, then why should not the people of a local community have the right to make their own rules and regulations by which they wish to be governed and for which they must pay? Legislative usurpation of municipal authority strikes at the very roots of representative government and of good government. It discourages local officials from assuming responsibility for local affairs. State control opens the door to special privilege through the use of powerful and well financed lobbies before the state legislature. Responsibility is greatly diluted in the state legislature in comparison to the city council. It is far easier for a legislator to distribute the blame for poor legislation over the entire state than it is for a mayor or a city councilman to shift the blame in his home town.

Genuine home rule permits cities and towns to adopt the kind of government they want. It provides the power to meet increasing needs for local services—needs which are demanded by the people. And home rule keeps the government close to the people affected.

The trend toward state control, I am satisfied, is more the result of public apathy than it is of deliberate planning. In this changing process from a rural to an urban nation no one was watching or safeguarding the autonomy and freedoms of cities and towns. Even from the standpoint of the state, if legislatures could rid themselves of the multitude of bills, pressures and details which relate only to local problems and are in no way of statewide concern, they would be able to devote more time and effort to the problems of state government, which are their real responsibilities.

The trouble lies in state constitutions and laws and in judicial interpretations of them, many of which were made before we became an urban nation. While business, industry and transportation are winging their way through the air, government is still plodding along in a horse and buggy.

Placing the Blame

Whose fault is that? The blame cannot be placed at any one door. It must be shared. Local officials are partly to blame. They should have seen this picture and called it to the attention of the citizens. Members of civic organizations are partly to blame for not having impressed the legislators from their districts with the seriousness of this problem. The legislators, too, must share the blame, for the people look to them for leadership and direction.

Then there is another group who must share the blame—those businessmen who use the legislative bodies to help their businesses and those who bring pressure and spend money freely to gain special privileges at the expense of the general welfare. This combination of apathy

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

13 More Cities Vote for Manager Plan

Massachusetts Leads List with Three New Adoptions

IN the November and other recent elections at least thirteen municipalities voted for the council-manager plan. Four of the newcomers exceed 40,000 population.

Four cities in Massachusetts voted November 8 on manager proposals. **Somerville** (102,177) voted to adopt Plan E (council-manager, proportional representation) and will thus become the seventh Massachusetts city under that plan—unless the courts uphold the dubious attempt of the legislature to deny home rule on the issue of proportional representation.

Haverhill, Massachusetts, (46,752) adopted Plan D (council-manager, election of council at large without proportional representation) by a vote of 11,053 to 6,361. **North Adams** (22,213) did likewise, 5,079 to 3,392. The plan will go into effect in all these cities in January 1952. **Springfield,** voting the same day on Plan D, rejected it by a vote of 27,576 to 23,916.

The city of **Council Bluffs, Iowa,** (41,439) voted at a special election on October 17 to adopt the council-manager plan, 4,119 to 3,132. The plan goes into effect on the first Monday in April 1950. The council will consist of five members elected at large, serving staggered terms of four years. The present council consists of eight aldermen, six elected by wards and two at large.

Poughkeepsie, New York, (40,478) adopted the council-manager plan, with a council to be elected at large, by a vote of 5,150 to 3,482.

Modesto, California, (16,379) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8 by a vote of 3,321 to 2,554.

Middletown, Ohio, (31,220) approved charter revision to include a full-time city manager, with somewhat limited responsibility, effective January 1, 1950.

The state of **Idaho** has its first council-manager city in **Twin Falls** (11,851), where the manager plan was adopted October 18, five to one.

Alice, Texas, (7,792) recently adopted the council-manager plan.

On October 11 **Mooresville, North Carolina,** (6,682) voted 259 to 50 in favor of a charter amendment providing for a city manager to be appointed by the board of commissioners.

Alamosa, Colorado, (5,613) approved a manager ordinance on November 1 by a vote of 685 to 528.

Sanford, North Carolina, (4,960) has adopted a charter provision providing the council-manager plan, effective July 1949.

Mound, Minnesota, (1,189) adopted the manager plan on October 29 by a vote of 165 to 77. According to C. C. Ludwig, executive secretary of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, this is the first case in which a village submitted to the people the alternate plan of village government known as Plan B, made possible by the 1949 village code. The plan will go into effect next January. Two members of the present council of five will carry over; the mayor and two trustees will be chosen at the December election.

The city of **Franklin, New Hampshire,** rejected a proposed council-manager charter at a special election on October 26 by a vote of 1,743 to 619. Under the present mayor-council government, however, there is a manager.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, voted two to one on November 8 to retain its council-manager plan of government; **Keene** also retained its manager plan, three to two.

At the final meeting of the 1947-1949 town council of **Milford, Connecticut,** retiring Councilman G. H. Woolson recommended changes in Milford's town manager plan to make it more efficient and responsible. He proposed shifting many details from the council to the manager, reduction in the size of the council to nine members, five elected by districts and four at large, more authority and responsibility for the board of education, establishment of a personnel board, and abolition of the police and fire commissions and the representative town meeting.

Mayor Emory Strachen of **Elmira, New York,** in announcing his intention to facilitate operation of the district plan of government recently adopted in Elmira despite his having opposed it, stated his belief that the plan's proponents are really seeking abolition of the council-manager plan.

A preliminary study of a suggestion for adoption of the manager plan in **Waverly, New York,** has been presented to the Waverly Community Council.

A charter commission of fifteen members has been appointed in **Roanoke, Virginia,** to suggest improvements in the council-manager charter of 1918.

A petition calling for an election in **Danville, Virginia,** on the question of adopting the manager plan is reported to have more than sufficient signatures.

A committee of the Junior Board of Trade of **Martinsburg, West Virginia,** has been studying the question of launching a campaign for the manager plan.

The city council of **Greenville, South Carolina,** has unanimously approved appointment of a special committee to make a study of reorganization of the city government. The manager plan is under consideration.

Mansfield, Ohio, voted 6,647 to 4,451, on November 8 in favor of a commission to frame a charter. Politicians of both parties fought the proposal and put up an opposition slate of fifteen candidates for the charter commission. However, all candidates of the Citizens Committee were elected by an overwhelming margin; they are pledged to write a council-manager charter. According to state law they must submit the charter to the citizens within a year.

Marquette, Michigan, in an advisory vote on October 11 showed that it wishes to retain the manager plan but also to consider revision of the charter. At present an ordinance provides for a manager.

A citizens' committee to resist a movement to abolish council-manager government in **Madison, Wisconsin,** was organized in October.

Nine managers of **Wisconsin** cities met in Madison on October 20 and formed a state association. Henry Traxler, Janesville manager, is temporary president.

The village council of **North St. Paul, Minnesota,** has voted to submit optional Plan B (council-manager) to the voters at the December 6 election. **Wells** will also vote on Plan B on that day.

The **Sidney, Nebraska,** *Telegraph* urges editorially that a movement be instituted to obtain the council-manager plan for Sidney.

A charter commission in **Port Arthur, Texas,** has voted eight to seven to present a new charter embodying the council-manager plan. The city already has a manager.

The board of directors of the **Tulsa,**

Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce has unanimously approved a report of the chamber's governmental affairs department recommending a council-manager form of government. Several thousand copies of the report are being printed for distribution. A council of nine or more members is proposed which shall select one of its members as mayor. In addition to appointing the manager it would also appoint various advisory boards and even administrative boards as considered necessary. Although the manager would have authority to appoint department heads and other municipal employees, the mayor would appoint various officials subject to approval by the council.

Durant, Oklahoma, voted 1,710 to 1,668 on September 27 to abandon the manager plan adopted in 1948.

Ogden, Utah, has voted four and a half to one for charter revision.

Mayor Bourque of **Ottawa, Ontario,** the capital of Canada, recommends appointment of a city manager in an work of all departments—but in an advisory capacity, not encroaching on the prerogatives or responsibilities of department heads, according to the Ottawa *Journal.* Thus he would not actually be a city manager.

Boston Adopts Strong Mayor Plan

Besides defeating Mayor James Michael Curley, Boston on November 8 voted to adopt Plan A, one of the optional forms provided for Boston by the 1948 legislature. This plan calls for a mayor with wide powers and a council of nine elected at large, Mayor Curley and his organization having blocked Plan E, which would have provided proportional representation for election of the council. The evils of minority control of the mayor's office will be largely cured by provision for a run-off election.

Detroit Rejects Four-Year Term for Officials

On November 8 the voters of Detroit, Michigan, turned down a proposal to give the mayor, city clerk and treasurer four-year terms. The proposal lost by about 1,000 votes.

A proposition to make the city-operated Detroit Street Railway free from city taxes of about $1,000,000 a year was also rejected.

A proposed increase in the salaries of city councilmen from $5,000 to $10,000 a year was defeated more than three to one.

Ohio 'Office-Type' Ballot Receives Majority

The so-called office-type or Massachusetts ballot, eliminating straight party voting, proposed in Ohio by constitutional initiative, received a majority of 251,129. Its adoption is uncertain, however, inasmuch as it did not receive a majority of all votes cast at the election. The attorney general has declined to render an opinion but has instituted a court test.

Proponents of the amendment, many of whom assert it would aid in the re-election of Senator Robert A. Taft in 1950, claim that under the constitution a majority of all votes at the election is not necessary although indicated as required by the wording of the amendment.

Another proposed amendment to the Ohio constitution, to allow more than one probate judge in each county, was defeated. An amendment to permit the sale of yellow oleomargarine in grocery stores was reported adopted.

Poll Tax Repeal Loses in Virginia and Texas

Virginia voters on November 8 overwhelmingly defeated a proposed constitutional amendment to repeal the

poll tax. The defeat is not generally construed as basic desire for the poll tax but was largely because of provisions in the amendment giving the legislature power to establish voting qualifications as it might deem fit and to impose state taxes up to three dollars on each adult and to allow counties to levy a one-dollar capitation tax — neither, however, as a requirement for voting. The present poll tax is $1.50 per year and must be paid up for three years to permit voting.

The Virginia Council of Churches, League of Women Voters, AFL, CIO and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were among organizations objecting to the provisions of the amendment.

The Texas proposal would have repealed the $1.75 poll tax but would have validated a legislative act providing for a 50-cent registration fee to be assessed at the discretion of each county. It was defeated but not by a wide margin.

Tennessee Rejects Limited Constitutional Convention

Tennessee voters decided by a narrow margin on November 8 against the calling of a limited convention to revise the 79-year-old state constitution which has withstood eleven prior attempts at revision. The convention was to be held in May 1950, to consider nine specific proposals[1] and to submit any favored amendments to a referendum. The proposal lost by 3,129 votes.

California Raises Legislators' Salaries, Saves Daylight

California adopted a proposition on November 8 to limit the regular and budget sessions of the state legislature, to raise members' salaries from $100 to $300 a month and increase expense allowances. The vote was approximately 1,275,000 to 950,000.

Long-standing California opposition to daylight saving time was overcome at the election by initiative and daylight will thereby be "saved" next summer.

San Francisco voted for purchase of the California Street Cable Railway, to be added to the municipal transportation system.

New York Approves Eight Amendments

Repeal of absolute veterans preference in civil service in New York State, and substitution of a point preference system, were accomplished on November 8 by popular approval of the so-called Mitchell amendment. This gives disabled veterans ten points on original examinations and five points on promotional tests. Heretofore a disabled veteran who merely made a passing mark went to the head of the list. Non-disabled veterans will receive five and two and a half points respectively. The credits can be used only once. The amendment was vigorously fought by certain veterans organizations but carried about three to two. It is to take effect in 1951.

Seven other amendments won by wide margins: providing for the lieutenant-governor-elect to become governor if the governor-elect dies, permitting payment of bonuses to New York veterans now living outside the state, making the court of claims a constitutional court, preventing a public official from holding office for five years if he refuses to waive immunity, removing certain housing indebtedness of villages from the debt limit, exempting $150,000,000 of New York City debt for hospitals from the debt limit, and providing a debt limit based on a percen-

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 403.

tage of full value for certain counties.

Three propositions, to aid public housing by liberalizing state debt, loans and subsidies, were approved, chiefly by overwhelming vote in New York City.

Wisconsin Legislators Plan for 1951 Session

Eleven interim committees of the Wisconsin legislature, including 80 legislators in their membership, are making preparations for the next regular session in 1951. They deal with agriculture, conservation, the state department, administration, education, the judiciary, labor and industry, public welfare, taxation, state budget and highways. Major investigations will involve taxation, state governmental organization and highway financing and classification. The taxation and highway committees each include three private citizen members as well as eight legislators.

Illinois State Police Placed under Merit System

The 1949 Illinois legislature passed a bill sponsored by Governor Stevenson which removed the 500-man state police force from political control and placed it under a merit board. According to the Civil Service Assembly, this is the first time since the police organization was created in 1922 that it has been free from politics.

The new law calls for an equal number of Democrats and Republicans on the force, after which a bipartisan state police merit board takes charge. The three-man board, appointed by the governor with senate approval, will establish physical, mental and character standards to govern all new appointments. Promotions will be strictly on a merit basis. Once appointed, a patrolman cannot be demoted or removed except for cause and with board approval after a hearing.

Another 1949 bill affecting the Illinois state police makes it a misdemeanor to attempt to solicit political campaign funds from a state police officer.

Urban Redevelopment Laws in 27 States

With the addition of urban redevelopment laws in New Jersey, Ohio and Oregon in recent months, the states providing for some form of redevelopment now number 27 plus the District of Columbia and Hawaii Territory, according to the Urban Land Institute, which says that thirteen of these have legislation providing for broad-gauge urban redevelopment.

The New Jersey act is described in *Urban Land* for October as follows:

"The act (chapter 306, laws of 1949) provides for the establishment of a redevelopment agency as an instrumentality of the local government. Blighted area is broadly defined including residential, non-residential, vacant and stagnant areas. Provision is made for the redevelopment of land for its most appropriate use under the redevelopment plan. Recommendations of the planning commission are required in establishing projects and approving the plan, which must conform to the master plan of the municipality. The agency is given power to conduct hearings, issue bonds, acquire land, clear and prepare the site, and dispose of property, but may not construct or operate buildings other than to manage, operate and maintain existing structures pending their removal. The agency is also charged with arranging for the relocation of residents, industry or commerce displaced from a redevelopment area."

Reciprocal Non-support Laws in Eleven States

Ten states have adopted legislation in 1949 to compel support of dependent wives and children by husbands absconding to other states, according to the Council of State Governments. They are Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

New York, which in 1948 was the first state to pass a reciprocal non-support law, amended its bill slightly this year. The New York law has been selected as a model for other states to follow and will be included in the council's 1950-51 program of suggested state legislation. Since the non-support laws are reciprocal, they are valid among jurisdictions which have the same or similar laws.

New York's act authorized its courts to take testimony in proceedings to compel support of dependents when the person legally responsible for support lives in a state having a similar law. The proper court in the state where the husband is located is empowered to fix a definite amount for support to be forwarded to the family.

Tennessee Makes Start on Legislative Reference Bureau

The 1949 Tennessee legislature established a Legislative Reference Bureau primarily as a bill-drafting service. It consists of an assistant attorney general designated by the attorney general and two staff members of the Tennessee State Planning Commission who are to be named by the chairman of that commission. The bureau has no staff or funds of its own, however. It is directed to assemble data relevant to state and local government; to catalogue codes, statutes, court reports and other governmental materials now in the state library and other repositories; to analyze the available data, furnish information to legislators on the state of the law in Tennessee and assist the legislators in drafting legislation.

The bureau, especially in the absence of funds, is seeking cooperative relationships with institutions such as the University of Tennessee's Bureau of Public Administration, Vanderbilt University Law School and the State Library.

THE PEOPLE CAN, MUST DO IT

(Continued from page 555)

and selfishness creates a dangerous enemy to good government and to representative government.

But there is no reason why these shortcomings cannot be corrected. One of the tests of good government is: Can it meet the changing needs of its people? Our government can. State constitutions can be amended, state laws can be changed, and judicial decisions will follow the law. But we cannot sit back and expect some wise man to make these changes for us. Ours is a government of, by and for the people. That means the people must understand their government, make it, amend it and execute it.

This is as great a challenge as I know—not to make profits, not to gain power, not for any selfish reason but to help create and preserve for our fellow men the blessings of freedom in a world where black clouds of tyranny now obscure the sunlight of liberty over many nations which but a short time ago thought they, too, were free.

Freedom can never be defeated, it can only lose by default.

County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Cuyahoga County Favors Home Rule

Voters Choose Commission to Draft New Basic Law

THE November 8 election of a home rule charter commission for Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, by an overwhelming vote of 155,985 to 98,091, was a distinct achievement for good government, reports *Greater Cleveland,* published by the Cleveland Citizens League. The campaign was initiated, guided and carried to a successful conclusion by that organization.

The league was responsible for having the question, "Shall a county charter commission be chosen?", placed on the ballot by the county commissioners, and it endorsed a nonpartisan, broadly representative slate of fifteen candidates for membership on the commission. Of the fifteen candidates elected, seven were backed by the league, seven by the Democratic organization, and the fifteenth was supported by both. The league considered this to be a remarkable success, since its nominees were primarily private citizens selected without regard to their political connections or vote-getting ability.

Much credit for the victory is given by the Citizens League to the strong editorial support of the three daily newspapers of Cleveland and other papers and the efforts of the Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, Women's City Club and many other civic organizations. All labor groups strongly endorsed the proposition as did many business groups.

The two most discouraging obstacles during the campaign were: (1) public indifference resulting in part from past failures—commissions were voted down in 1936 and 1941, and (2) the indeterminate stand of the Democratic organization, which ran an opposition slate, including some of the strongest vote-getting names in the county, without declaring either for or against the issue.

Hamilton County Townships Adopt Zoning Law

A zoning proposal applying only to unincorporated areas, submitted by the commissioners of Hamilton County, Ohio, has been adopted upon referendum by some townships but rejected by others. The law will apply only to the communities that approved it — Anderson, Columbia, Springfield, Sycamore and Symmes Townships. It divides each township into eight zones, four for residences and one each for retail business, light industries, heavy industries and resort areas.

The proposal was supported by many civic organizations including the Hamilton County Good Government League, Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati Citizens' Development Committee, Federated Civic Clubs, and numerous local groups. Opposition by certain real estate groups presumably was responsible for its failure in some townships.

Buchanan County, Missouri, Rejects Manager Charter

Organized city and county politicians, it is reported, were responsible for the defeat of a proposed council-manager charter submitted to the voters of Buchanan County (St. Joseph), Missouri, on November 8.

Consolidated Government under Attack in Baton Rouge

Opponents of the consolidated governments of the parish of East Baton Rouge and the city of Baton Rouge[1] have attacked the consolidation in an attempt to effect more complete consolidation but simultaneously, in several respects, to restore the former governmental structure. They have filed a petition under procedures prescribed in the new charter and, if valid, a referendum will be held on the proposals on January 19, 1950.

Although the group is self-identified as a "citizens' committee," the leadership is composed of many present and former political officeholders. Its plan would abolish the merit system, central purchasing, the planning commission and other "unnecessary boards, bureaus, commissions and duplication of government." It is proposing a structure resembling the municipal commission form of government which reached the height of its popularity over a quarter century ago.

Tennessee County Secures Expert Assessment Service

Madison County, in cooperation with the city of Jackson, Tennessee, has retained the firm of J. L. Jacobs Company to assist in reevaluating some 20,000 pieces of local property. The firm's representatives have begun a public information campaign to acquaint local residents with the program and to enlist their support.

A recent report of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association indicates that the ratio of assessment to fair cash value in Tennessee counties varies from 13 to 50 per cent. Inequalities for individual properties are often greater than the county averages.

Index maps for identification and control of all lands, tax maps showing the location and size of every parcel of property, land unit value maps, a property index system, property record cards, property ownership indexes, and rental and sales data records are being developed. All data will be turned over to the county tax assessor who will continue to do the actual task of assessing property for tax purposes.

Maryland Counties Join Retirement System

Seven counties of the 23 are now members of the employees retirement system of the state of Maryland. Under the laws governing the system, any political subdivision of the state may become a member of the system upon approval of its legislative body. Costs to the local government range from 5 to 6 per cent of the payroll, and the employee's contribution amounts to 4 to 7 per cent depending on factors in each individual case. Fourteen other units of local government also are members of the system.

California Studies City-County Cooperation

The League of California Cities is conducting two specific studies in two metropolitan areas of the state for the purpose of improving city-county cooperation in the performance of certain functions.

The Los Angeles County study is attempting to secure more uniformity in the confusing and contradictory traffic ordinances that apply throughout the metropolitan area. An East Bay study, embracing Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, is a comprehensive examination of county functions and services and their effect on the twenty member cities in the two counties.

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 468.

The chief aim of the traffic study is to draw to the attention of the 25 cities in Los Angeles County the current state of their traffic laws. There are many gaps to be filled and many inconsistencies with the state vehicle code. A few cities already have revised their traffic codes.

The East Bay study emphasized that rapid urban development in the unincorporated areas of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties resulted in great demands for services from county government. City taxpayers, who finance much of the cost, do not benefit from the services the counties provide only outside cities. The study focussed attention on county services outside cities to ascertain the extent to which city taxes are paying for them. County revenues were analyzed to determine the relative contributions of the cities and the unincorporated areas. Municipal-type county services were studied to learn whom they directly benefit. It will then be ascertained whether unincorporated areas contribute to the cost of county services in proportion to the benefits they receive.

Pennsylvania Enacts Numerous County Laws

According to the *Monthly Bulletin* of the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, the 1949 session of the state legislature considered over five hundred bills relating to county government. These bills constituted approximately one quarter of all bills introduced.

Of the 526 bills, only 173 were passed by the legislature and 160 approved by the governor. They concerned almost every phase of county government, but none changed significantly the administration or codified or revised the law. A group of obsolete laws was repealed. In addition to general government, the laws covered taxation and finance, tax sales and liens, law enforcement, courts, elections and registration, highways and public works, veterans' affairs, housing, welfare, public records, duties of county officers, fees and salaries and retirement.

County Expands Recreation on Reduced Budget

Authorities responsible for park and recreational facilities of King County (Seattle), Washington, have demonstrated how they virtually have trebled their service during the past three years—and on a reduced budget.

Camping and playground programs, swimming, arts and crafts, and athletic activities have attracted 644,000 persons to the parks in the past twelve months as contrasted with 238,000, the number reported in 1947. The increased use at decreased cost was the result primarily of encouraging school districts and community groups to plan their own programs in conjunction with the park facilities.

Duties of New York Justices Increase

A survey in New York State reveals a constant increase in the number of cases tried by justices of peace from 1945 to 1948, coupled with a decrease in the number of justice courts.

New York towns and villages have authority, in the aggregate, to appoint over 4,700 justices. In 1945 there were 2,928 justices of whom 1,779 actually performed judicial functions. In 1948 the number had been reduced to 2,896, but those performing judicial functions had been increased to 1,988. The volume of cases tried by justice courts had increased from 109,528 to 269,904 or nearly two and one half times. The trend toward a greater proportion of lawyers in the office also was noted by the survey.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. in the 1949 Elections

Somerville Adopts It, Toledo Votes It Out

MASSACHUSETTS had a lively interest in the subject of proportional representation at the November 8 elections. Six cities elected their city councils and school boards by the Hare system — Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere, the four latter using it for the first time.

Striking features of these elections were the relatively large votes cast and the large number of candidates in those cities using P. R. for the first time.

In Cambridge, where Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of council and school committee—has been in effect since 1940, 71 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls to choose among 46 candidates for council and sixteen for the school board. Lowell, where the system has been used since 1942, cast 73 per cent of its registered vote with 49 councilmanic and 31 school committee candidates.

In Worcester a 74 per cent vote was cast for 152 councilmanic candidates —the record in P. R. annals—and 36 school committee aspirants. The Revere vote was approximately 70 per cent of registration with 58 candidates for council seats and eighteen for school committee. Quincy cast a vote estimated at 68.5 per cent of registration for 59 and 15 candidates respectively; Medford, 67 per cent, with 84 and eighteen candidates. In the four cities using P. R. for the first time the invalid vote was under 3 per cent.

Completion of the count for council in Worcester showed five of the nine elected had the endorsement of the Citizens Plan E Association. The Cambridge Civic Association saw five of its councilmanic candidates elected and in Quincy also the Civic Association endorsed a majority of those elected—four out of seven. Early returns from Lowell indicate that the Democratic party will have a majority on the council for the first time since the advent of Plan E.

Somerville, Massachusetts, voted seven to one to adopt Plan E, despite action by the Massachusetts legislature prohibiting P. R. except where already in use. The city pins its hopes on a "boner" in the law,[1] and the matter will doubtless be determined by the courts. Commenting on the overwhelmingly favorable vote—33,587 to 4,823—Wallace E. Sinclair, chairman of the Plan E for Somerville Committee, said: "Now the people have spoken. Their tremendous vote in favor of Plan E amounts to a mandate to the general court [legislature] to clarify the issue raised by the bill intended to kill proportional representation."

Gloucester votes on Plan E December 6. In Chelsea, where a petition to place Plan E on the ballot had been filed and accepted, the city's attorney ruled that because of the law passed by the legislature the question could not be voted upon. The last-minute plea for a referendum, made by Dr. Bernard Brass, chairman of the Plan E Committee, who pointed out that

[1]See the REVIEW, October 1949, page 461.

Somerville and Gloucester would submit the same question to a vote, was turned down by the board of aldermen because the ballots were being printed and absentee ballots had already been placed in the mails.

P. R. in Ohio

Toledo, one of three Ohio cities using proportional representation, voted 56,754 to 30,375 to supplant it with election at large by majority vote. The new law provides a run-off primary. This is the fifth time the system has been assailed in that city.

P. R. councilmanic elections were held in Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton. In Cincinnati the City Charter Committee, which has played the part of a municipal party since 1924 when the city's council-manager charter was adopted, won a majority of five of the nine councilmen. The charter ticket was led by Mayor Albert D. Cash. In Hamilton the Forward Hamilton group elected four of the city's seven councilmen. Describing the result, the Hamilton *Journal and Daily News* comments that "Never in the history of the Hamilton city charter and the proportional representation method of voting in Hamilton have voters who favored a certain group of candidates been as steadfast in KEEPING THEIR VOTES WITHIN THAT GROUP."

Detailed reports on many of these elections will be made in forthcoming issues of the *Review*.

P. R. Breeds Alphonse-Gaston Act

Plan E cities and the so-called proportional representation method of balloting have developed a character strange to political campaigning — a politician who has nothing but good to say of his opponents. . . . Briefly this theory is—speak no evil and the other candidates will respond in kind. It isn't love of opponents that does this, it is the desire for all-important second choice support.

Plan E requires the voter to mark his ballot according to choices. The candidate a voter likes best is marked "1"; second choice, "2"; and so forth. Every candidate campaigns for as many "1" votes as possible, but he also realizes that while not necessarily the first choice of a particular voter, he may rate a second or even a third choice in the popularity poll, and those second and third choice votes are vital for election.

"You just can't hit the other guy, he might be in a position to give you a second choice," admitted one of the candidates running for the city council in Worcester. Thus the Alphonse-Gaston campaign tone under Plan E.

C. E. OWENS

Boston *Globe*, November 6

New York Elects Democratic Council by District System

November 8 marked the first election of a city council in New York City since its repeal of proportional representation two years ago. The result under the method substituted for P. R. —election of one councilman from each senatorial district—was essentially as predicted in this department:[1] the Democratic party obtained 24 of the 25 seats on the council although all its candidates polled only 52.6 per cent of the vote cast for council.

The Republican vote for council was 21.6 per cent of the total. The Liberal party, which was allied with the Republicans in the mayoralty contest, cast 13.7 per cent and the American Labor party, which was allied with no other party except the Communist, polled 11.9 per cent. The Communist party, offering a candidate in but one

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1947, pages 648-649.

district, polled barely a thousand votes. Its lone candidate, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, obtained 20,772 votes on the American Labor ticket but was decisively defeated by his opponent, Earl Brown, who obtained 38,779 votes on the Democratic, 15,313 on the Republican and 8,938 on the Liberal ticket. Since Davis' strength was concentrated in this part of the city, it seems practically certain that he could not have been reelected this fall even if P. R.—with its borough-wide election quota of 75,000—had stayed in effect. The election of Davis and another Communist at a time when the United States and Russia were on terms of cordial cooperation was the principal reason for P. R.'s repeal after the situation changed.

The Democratic party made a clean sweep of the council election in four out of the five boroughs of the city, shutting out all representation of the substantial Republican minority in Queens and the considerable Republican, Liberal and American Labor minorities in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

In Manhattan the Republican party, with the help of the Liberal party (which turned out to have been decisive), secured the reelection of Councilman Stanley Isaacs.

Minority leader Genevieve B. Earle, independent Republican, who had rendered distinguished service on the council ever since P. R. was first used, found herself in the same Brooklyn district as majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey, a district with a strong Democratic majority, and declined to run for reelection. Under the district system one or the other of these outstanding members of the council had to be sacrificed.

If P. R. had remained in force, on the basis of the 1949 vote the Democrats would probably have obtained nineteen seats, the Republicans seven, the Liberals three and the American Labor party three.

The vote for parties other than the four tabulated below was only a few thousand out of two and a half million in the whole city.

VOTE FOR CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATES NEW YORK CITY ELECTION 1949

	Democratic	*Republican*	*Liberal*	*American Labor*
Manhattan	275,495	128,964	66,160	100,395
Bronx	329,493	85,969	99,954	85,175
Brooklyn	423,271	149,058	139,005	84,086
Queens	255,563	157,289	34,398	26,729
Richmond	31,687	18,954	3,217	2,105
	1,315,509	540,234	342,734	298,490

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNCIL SEATS IF P. R. HAD BEEN IN FORCE IN 1949

	Democratic	*Republican*	*Liberal*	*American Labor*
Manhattan	4	2	0	1
Bronx	5	1	1	1
Brooklyn	5	2	2	1
Queens	4	2	0	0
Richmond	1	0	0	0
	19	7	3	3

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Voters Pass on Financial Measures

Bonus Loses in New Jersey but Wins in Pennsylvania

IF voters generally caused few political upsets in the elections of November 8, 1949, they appear also to have acted pretty much as expected in passing on state and local measures of fiscal importance.

Old age pensions, which starred in the three west coast states at the 1948 elections, played a repeat performance this year only in California. There a constitutional amendment was proposed which, while retaining old age and blind pensions on the basic $75 and $85 monthly schedules enacted last year, would return control of the pension system to legislative and administrative control.

The 1948 measure wrote the system into the state constitution in detail, and even named the first state director to supervise the program.[1] This year's proposition restores appointment of the welfare director to the governor and contains numerous provisions which have the effect generally of placing the system within legislative control. Nearly complete returns indicate the amendment was adopted.

Close to two billion dollars worth of state and local bond issues were submitted to the voters, with early indications that most had been given approval. Largest of the issues was Pennsylvania's $500,000,000 authorization for a soldiers' bonus. The largest bonus bond authorization yet approved, it carried no provision for raising funds to repay the principal and interest. It was opposed by the American Veterans Committee and others, arguments including the forecast that a state sales tax would be necessary.

Second largest authorization was in New York, where an additional $300,000,000 of state housing and slum clearance bonds were approved. New York State voters also approved two other propositions increasing state subsidies for housing.

In California voters approved $250,000,000 state bonds for aiding local school districts in the construction of school facilities. The proceeds will go on an equalization basis to poorer districts or districts which have already exhausted their own borrowing power but because of great population increases still require additional buildings.

New Jersey Proposals

In New Jersey three bond propositions totaling $230,000,000 were submitted. The voters turned down the two larger proposals—$105,000,000 for military bonuses and $100,000,000 for housing and slum clearance. They approved a $25,000,000 bond issue for urgently needed state institutional buildings, however. The bonus bond measure carried its own financing proposal—imposition of a tax on gross business receipts. It was supported by the American Legion and other veteran organizations but opposed by the American Veterans Committee, a newly formed New Jersey Veterans group, the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, and other business groups.

At the local level, the largest fiscal measure was an indirect authorization

[1]See "Can We Afford the Initiative?" by Alfred F. Smith, the REVIEW, October 1949, page 437.

affecting New York municipalities and New York City especially. A statewide proposition was approved amending the constitution to provide a considerably more liberal basis for the deduction of "self-supporting" debt in computing the legal borrowing margin. One of its immediate effects will be to increase the borrowing margin of New York City to permit issuance of $150,000,000 city bonds for hospital construction.

City Proposals Small

City voters did not pass on any signally large bond proposals. Largest approval reported was $14,000,000 by voters of San Francisco, which comprised $10,000,000 airport bonds and $4,000,000 water bonds. Los Angeles County approved $5,000,000 hospital bonds. Other approvals in the over $1,000,000 bracket included $4,000,000 for water improvements by the Marin County Municipal Water District, California; $3,700,000 by Elyria School District, Ohio; $3,375,000 by Hartford, Connecticut, for schools and institutional buildings; $2,985,000 by Cleveland Heights School District, Ohio; $2,700,000 for schools and other purposes by Clarksville, Tennessee; $2,500,000 by Ashtabula School District, Ohio; $2,100,000 by Bethlehem School District, Pennsylvania; and authorizations, each of $2,000,000, by Berks County, Pennsylvania, for a county home and by San Diego, California, for a library.

Larger city issues defeated included $4,730,000 for a sewage treatment plant submitted to voters of San Jose, California; $3,600,000 submitted by the Massillon School District, Ohio; $3,454,000 for a Saginaw, Michigan, sewage disposal plant; and $2,100,000 for bridge construction submitted by Muskingum County, Ohio.

Tax Forgiveness Limited in Many States

Omission of real property from assessment rolls is no grounds for tax forgiveness in most states. A review of laws concerning failure to list property on assessment rolls, by the National Association of Assessing Officers, revealed that in only seven states is the period for which taxes may be assessed limited to the year of the discovery of the omission. States allowing only current year collections are Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Vermont.

Ten states—Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah and Washington—allow taxes to be collected for all years that the property was omitted from the rolls. Texas allows taxes to be levied for all years since 1870.

States with Limit

Thirty states place a limit on the number of years that omitted property can be retroactively taxed. These limits range from fifteen years in Mississippi to one year in New Jersey and New York. Five years is the most common period of definite limitation, being in effect in twelve states—Alabama, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, North Carolina, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Taxing of omitted property is limited to the last transfer of ownership in four states. Taxes are cancelled in Michigan by any transfer of ownership; in California and Kansas by transfer other than through death or gift, and in Illinois by transfer "for value." In Ohio, Wyoming and Nebraska both a time limitation and a provision for transfer of ownership limits the period for which back taxes may be collected.

Syracuse Ends City Sales Tax

A city sales tax of 1 per cent imposed in 1948 by the city of Syracuse, New York, will end February 28, 1950, according to press reports. The tax was originally at the rate of 2 per cent, but was halved in March 1949.

Syracuse was one of three upstate local governments to make use of the New York legislation authorizing a variety of new local taxes, including local sales and use taxes. The other two were Erie County, where a 1 per cent tax became effective July 1, 1947, and Poughkeepsie, where a 2 per cent tax became effective March 1, 1949. New York City has a sales and use tax dating from the depression of the 1930s.

Constitutional Amendments Win in Kentucky

On Tuesday, November 8, the people of Kentucky adopted two amendments to their 1891 constitution—the so-called school equalization amendment and the salary limitation amendment.

The school equalization amendment won handsomely by a vote of 230,189 to 126,635. It changes the percentage of the state appropriation for common school purposes, which must be divided among school districts on a per capita school census basis, from 90 to 75 per cent.

The salary limitation amendment vote was 179,477 to 161,326, a majority of 18,151. This amendment raises the $5,000 annual salary limitation to $12,000 for officials with statewide jurisdiction and mayors of first class cities (Louisville), to $8,400 for circuit judges and to $7,200 for all other officials. The governor's salary has not been affected by the limitation.

J. E. Reeves
University of Kentucky

WHO GETS THE BILLION GRAFT?

(Continued from page 550)

a postwar slump. While the end of the boss is being predicted daily, articles are appearing in popular magazines comparable to those of the old muckraker days but now telling about the rise of new, and in some respects more sinister, bosses than those who from time to time die, are defeated or retire.

Half a dozen books have appeared since the war devoted in whole or in part to the malodorous politics of American state and local government. In one of these, *Our Fair City*, Robert S. Allen summarized the views of nearly a score of newspaper men who wrote of the politics of the cities with which they are familiar. It is, he said, "The same old story of boodling bosses and business men, of horrendous slums, of dirt and filth, disease and vice, of gross and shameless waste, of mismanagement and misrule, of crass disregard of public health and human dignity."

Perhaps New York needs a new Seabury investigation, California a new Hiram Johnson. Certainly the voters of America need to sharpen their civic conscience and match their concern for world order with a campaign against the termites that are weakening the foundations of their own democracy.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizen Planning Groups Increase

Organizations Active in Many Metropolitan Areas

MORE and more the lay citizen is becoming interested in the field of planning, particularly in metropolitan areas, where the many units of local government make for confusion and lack of coordination.

Formation of a Greater Philadelphia-South Jersey Council, representing nine counties of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, was sponsored by the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning, the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and other cooperating agencies. The conference launching the council was addressed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, both of whom stressed the importance of port development as an essential part of the economic development of the area.

A panel on community planning was keynoted by Walter M. Phillips, former president of the citizens' council, who spoke on "Who Plans What." He stressed the need for use of the home rule principle in regional planning but also pointed out that communities in the metropolitan area needed comprehensive planning for the whole.

Planning Progress in Philadelphia, annual report of the Citizens' Council on City Planning for 1948-1949, is the first such report the council has issued. It highlights the major developments of the past year but emphasizes need for a "continuous process of information and citizen planning activity."

A newcomer in the field of citizen planning is the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association, established October 1948. It is a citizen-sponsored and privately financed planning and research organization covering the city and six surrounding towns. Early this year it began publication of a semi-monthly newsletter, *Plans and Action.* Main emphasis, according to Executive Director Hayden B. Johnson, is directed toward preparation and distribution of factual reports. Already three have been released—on schools, the city,[1] and now *Housing—the Poughkeepsie Area* (28 pages, one dollar).

One of the Poughkeepsie association's bulletins, "What About Charter Revision?" discusses two proposals for charter revision on the November 8 ballot, one providing the council-manager plan, adopted by a wide margin, the other, salary increases for police department employees.

Let's Face Facts About the Passaic Bergen Area has been issued by another newcomer in the field of citizen planning, the Passaic-Bergen Community Planning Association. Pointing out the problems of the area the pamphlet describes the work of the organization and makes a plea to "keep the ball rolling."

The fourth regional conference of the Regional Plan Association was held November 15 in New York City. "A one-day conference for officials and citizens of the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut Metropolitan Region," it discussed industrial development, zoning for apartments, parking solutions and urban developments as pertinent to the 550 municipalities of the region.

The Citizens Council Development Committee of Cincinnati, "to further

[1]See the REVIEW, September, page 422; October, page 474.

the progress of the Cincinnati Area," urges a sound bond program for 1950. "This year," says its October *Bulletin,* "a background for the scheduling of capital improvements was provided by (a) council's adoption of an improved capital improvement procedure, (b) preparation of a five-year improvement program by the city manager, and (c) preparation of a two-year referendum bond program by council's finance committee. . . . Cincinnati will be in better position to carry out the master plan than at any previous time."

Discussions on housing and pollution have had the attention of two fall membership meetings of the Toledo Regional Planning Association. Both were panel discussions led by experts. A film "Clear Waters," was presented at the meeting on pollution.

San Francisco Bay Area

Activities of the San Francisco Bay Area Council are discussed in its bulletin, *Trends Within the Golden Gate. Formula for the Future* "tells the story and promise of America's astounding new metropolis on San Francisco Bay." Other publications include a pamphlet on 1948 progress and the 1949 program—*Cooperation Makes It Greater* and *Editorially Yours: What the Newspapers Are Saying About Bay Area Cooperation.*

A town planning institute was conducted at the University of Minnesota's Center for Continuation Study, on November 18 and 19, to stimulate participation in community planning.

The American Planning and Civic Association's Committee on Citizens Organizations for Planning has issued its *1949 Report* (mimeographed) listing some 50 organizations with information on their activities. Its price is $1.

Planning and Civic Comment, quarterly of the American Planning and Civic Association, has introduced a new department, "Citizen Action for Community Planning," which reports on the activities of citizen planning agencies. The following items are from that source:

Formation of its United Housing Council has been announced by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh). Its purpose is to "promote the construction of housing units for the medium and lower income groups, to maintain a record of the housing inventory and vacancy ratio, to concern itself with housing laws and building codes and all other matters necessary to insure an adequate supply of safe, sanitary housing."

The Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati has four committees to assist in carrying out its 1949 program: education, housing and urban redevelopment, legislation and off-street parking. They will work with similar committees of the City Planning Commission.

A twelve-months survey of the school system by the emergency school committee of the Kansas City (Missouri) Citizens Regional Planning Council makes recommendations all the way from revenue and budget to administration and curriculum. Approximately 300 citizens, working on ten subcommittees, aided. The council's survey and research committee prepared a model smoke abatement ordinance which the city council has now passed. The group is promoting its passage in two adjoining cities.

There are nine county and fifty city planning commissions in the San Francisco Bay Area, reports the Bay Area Council, with no coordinating regional commission. The council is therefore acting as a clearing house for planning ideas on area development, carrying on its program through a Bay Area Planning Technicians Committee.

The Louisville Area Development

Association, the Louisville Board of Trade, Convention and Publicity League and Retail Merchants Association have agreed to consolidate as the Louisville Chamber of Commerce, with Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director of the development association, as chief executive.

The Allegheny County Conference on Community Development and the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) have cooperated on a survey of the county's library facilities in the hope that the facilities of Pittsburgh may be shared in more adequate measure by outlying sections with little or no service.

The Southern California Planning Congress has been holding monthly dinner meetings at various cities discussing such subjects as clean waters, zones of influence beyond city limits, and taxes and planning.

Neighborhood Planning

The Citizens Union of New York City has sent to Mayor O'Dwyer and members of the City Planning Commission a proposal for making a start on neighborhood planning. The essence of the idea, says the Union's *News*, "is to take every proposed city construction project and get the city agencies concerned to work together on providing proper facilities nearby. Thus there could in future be no schoolless, libraryless, almost garageless projects like Stuyvesant Town"—a semi-public housing project.

The Jackson Heights (New York City) Community Federation, organized in 1947, has published *Jackson Heights Looks to Its Future* (sixteen pages), describing the origin and background of the organization, what it has done and what it hopes to accomplish. Stress is laid on planning for the community.

The *News Letter* of the Fort Wayne Civic Association reports another neighborhood organization, the Belmont Community Association. Belmont lies on the south edge of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and has a population of 800 people.

The Citizens' Association of Chicago launched a nonpartisan, city-wide organization of neighborhood civic groups, to be known as the Citizens' Community Conference, at its 75th anniversary dinner in October. The organization will act as a clearing house for exchange of ideas and experience on neighborhood problems and furnish information on citywide proposals.

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Civic News in Brief

Citizens of Southbury and New London, Connecticut, assisted by the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, have completed surveys of their local governments. The Southbury report, *A Guide to Good Town Government*, is described as "a sociological document of broad significance" which "probes the mechanics of good town government at first hand." *New London, A Review of Its Economic Potentialities*, 54-page typed document, "casts up an economic balance sheet for New London."

The Political News Studies Group is making periodic reports on the "political news coverage of the three Cincinnati dailies, *Enquirer, Post* and *Times-Star*." Purpose is to show each of the papers how their coverage of the 1949 councilmanic campaign compares with the others, how adequate total coverage is, and to what extent it is spotty and incomplete. The group reports that "after six weeks of tabulations, the conclusion is inescapable that at least two of the three Cincinnati dailies are not providing adequate or balanced coverage of either the issues or candidates of this councilmanic campaign."

The Civic Federation of Chicago has issued its *56th Annual Report* for the year ending September 30, 1949. It describes important legislative action secured this year, its services to members, including the publishing of 45 bulletins and reports, and short comments on such matters as 1949 budget hearings, park-city merger, etc. Aldermanic attendance at city council and committee meetings is reported by the association in its *Citizens' Bulletin.* Compiled by Assistant Executive Secretary Lillian Egerton, "the record is kept as one phase of the association's program to increase public understanding of the important role assigned to aldermen as trustees of the city's $300,000,000 municipal corporation."

The mayor and council of High Point, North Carolina, this summer invited the local citizenry to share in the deliberations of their governing body.

League-al News and Views, organ of the Shreveport League of Women Voters, discusses "Significant Features of Proposed City Charter," pointing out that in the new document the present commission form is retained but streamlined in various aspects.

The board of directors of the Seattle Municipal League has approved more than twenty "projects" for the current year, reports the *Seattle Municipal News,* including a new charter for King County, 1950 report on candidates and issues, recommendations on the Port of Seattle, airport consolidation, balanced city, county and school budgets, sound county planning program, teaching of citizenship, full schedule of talks by the league's Town Criers on election issues, and development of a series of radio broadcasts on local government. The league boasts that 750 of its 4,000 members are working on seventeen standing committees, a hundred more than last year.

The Toledo Municipal League reports in its *Municipal News* that despite its name the organization "does not restrict its work to the legal confines of the city." It is interested in problems within the county—"considers the metropolitan community as its research ground." The league has aided in bringing together officials of the various units of government to discuss their problems and its staff is making tentative plans for an institute on government management to discuss health, water, sewage treatment, pollution, roads, safety, finance, law and public administration training.

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Massachusetts Civic League by Joseph Lee was celebrated on October 26 at the Harvard Club of Boston. Speakers included Philip H. Willkie, son of the late Wendell Willkie and a member of the Indiana legislature, and John F. Kennedy, young Massachusetts congressman. The league recently sent a questionnaire to all clerks of Massachusetts cities and towns regarding their form of government. Out of the total of 351, 258 replied. The survey showed increasing interest in the use of the manager plan. Its results appear in *The Lens* for September.

The Philadelphia Committee of Seventy's *Civic Affairs* for September takes the form of a memo to the Philadelphia Charter Commission on "Suggestions Relating to Drafting the Home Rule Charter." The committee suggests postponement of hearings until after elections in November and the fixing of the tax rate in December, then discusses "important basic issues."

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Strictly Personal

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois addressed a round table meeting of the Chicago City Club on "How to Trim Government Costs." The club has re-elected William E. Rodriguez as president for another year.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Budget Document Obscures Costs of City Services. A 'Performance Budget' Would Give Clearer Picture—Popular Summary Also Needed. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 25, 1949. 3 pp.

Fifty Million Dollars: Wayne County Expenditures for 1949-50. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes,* November 11, 1949. 2 pp.

The 1950 City Budget. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. *Research Brevities,* October 26, 1949. 1 p.

State of Maryland Budget Finances. A One Picture Story. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar,* October 8, 1949. 1 p. chart.

Building Codes

Hidden Building Codes of the State of Washington. (Regulations governing construction hidden in rules of state agencies or acts of the legislature.) Seattle, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* September 26, 1949. 6 pp.

County Government

Montgomery County, Maryland. A Study of the Economy, Governmental Organization and Finances of the County with an Analysis of the Probable Effects of the County's Improvement Program. Also a Study of the Utility Services Rendered by and the Operations and Finances of the Washington Suburban District. New York 5, Wainwright, Ramsey & Lancaster, 1949. 116 pp. maps.

Debt

Borrowing as a Method of Public Finance. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 21, 1949. 3 pp.

A Debt Manual for Texas Cities. By Lynn F. Anderson. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 56 pp. $1.

$69,150,000 in New Debt Has Its Drawbacks. Some facts about the latest city loan authorizations—with some critical comments. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 27, 1949. 3 pp.

Directories

A Directory of Mississippi Municipalities. Meridian, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 80 pp.

Education

Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems. By Frederick C. McLaughlin. New York, Public Education Association, 1949. 107 pp. 25 cents.

State Education Aids. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* September 1949. 5 pp.

"Total" Teachers' Salaries. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 12, 1949. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

Elections in Rural New York. By C. A. Bratton and E. A. Lutz. Ithaca, Cornell University, New York State College of Agriculture, 1949. 31 pp. tables, illus.

Federal Reorganization

State Committee on Hoover Reports. Santa Fe, New Mexico Taxpayers' Association, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* October 1949. 14 pp.

Industrial Foundations

An Analysis of Industrial Founda-

tions. Tulsa, Oklahoma, Chamber of Commerce, January 1949. 62 pp. $3.

Land Use

Buyer, Beware! Is Your Property on a Public Street? Seattle, University of Washington, *Washington Municipal Bulletin,* October 3, 1949. 4 pp.

Surveys, Subdivision and Platting, and Boundaries. Washington State Laws and Judicial Decisions. By Joshua H. Vogel, Ernest Howard Campbell and Wilbur K. Wilson. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 134 pp. maps. $1.50.

Legislative Councils

Progress Report. September Council Meeting. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, September 1949. 10 pp.

Licensing

A Survey of Licensing in New Mexico. By Frederick C. Irion. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1949. 49 pp.

Professional Licensing Boards in Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* October 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

The Structure of the Metropolitan Community. A Study of Dominance and Subdominance. By Don J. Bogue. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. 210 pp. charts, tables. $2.

Municipal Government

Realigning the Departments: Some Basic Factors. Centralization of Responsibility Is Attainable Only under Strong-Mayor or Manager Plan. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 8, 1949. 5 pp.

Charter Changes Can Aid Popular Control. Complexity of City's Governmental Structure Helps Frustrate the Citizen. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 11, 1949. 6 pp.

Planning

A Practical Approach to City Planning. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* September 30, 1949. 5 pp.

Methods of Financing a Capital Improvement Program. Schenectady, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 7, 1949. 3 pp.

Reasons for City Planning. Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* May 1949. 6 pp.

Recent Trends in State Planning and Development. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 24 pp. 75 cents.

Shopping Centers: An Analysis. Washington, Urban Land Institute, 1949. 48 pp. Illus. Charts. $5.

Urban Redevelopment Laws and Action. By John C. Bollens and John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 34 pp. $1.

Prisons

Utah State Prison. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, October 1949. 4 pp.

Public Welfare

A Study of the Support of State-Wide and National Social Welfare Agencies by Massachusetts Communities (third edition). ("This study proposes an orderly state plan for handling the multiplicity of appeals which today confuse the contributing public.") Boston, Massachusetts Community Organization Service, December 1947. 25 pp. 50 cents.

Places of Refuge. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 5 pp.

Policy Questions as to Public Welfare Expenditures. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 5, 1949. 2 pp.

Trends in Utah Public Welfare. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Purchasing

Management of Small Purchases. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Federal Supply, General Services Administration, *Service of Supply,* October-December, 1949. 15 pp.

Outline of a Training Course for Officers and Employees of the Federal Supply Service. Volume 1: **Regular Purchasing.** By Joseph M. Stoll and Robert LeFevre. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. xvi, 196 pp. 45 cents.

Purchasing in Nevada. A Synopsis of a Plan to Save Nevada Taxpayers $115,000. Reno, Nevada Taxpayers Association, *Nevada Tax Review,* October 1949. 11 pp.

Recreation

False Economy in Civic Services. ("Very frequently, budgets are held down by sacrificing sound operation of existing services and adequate maintenance of present physical assets such as streets, parks and public buildings."). Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* June 24, 1949. 4 pp.

Public Recreation in South Carolina Municipalities. By Christian L. Larsen and Robert H. Stoudemire. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 25 pp.

Refuse Collection

Refuse Collection and Disposal in 156 California Cities. (Hogs eat most of the garbage.) By Winston R. Updegraff and Richard Bartle. Los Angeles, *Western City,* August 1949. 12 pp. Illus.

Retirement Systems

Statewide Retirement System for Municipal Employees in Cities of Washington State. (Analysis, tables, text of law, sample ordinance.) By Donald C. Sampson. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1949. 23 pp.

Salaries

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1948. (In tables by city and town.) Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1949. 32 pp.

Salaries and Wages of Municipal Employees in Texas. By W. Terrell Blodgett. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Municipal Research, in cooperation with the League of Texas Municipalities, August 1949. 120 pp. Tables.

Salaries of Large City Mayors Range from $12,000 to $25,000. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* October 13, 1949. 3 pp.

Should the Cost of Living Salary Adjustment Plan Be Continued "As Is", Modified, or Abandoned? Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, October 20, 1949. 3 pp.

Service Charges

Metered Water Charges in Major U. S. Cities. The Philadelphia Consumer's Bill Compared with Those Paid in Other Communities. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 13, 1949. 5 pp.

Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee 1948-49. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 83 pp. Tables. $1.

Social Security

Analysis of Proposition No. 2. Facts About Aged and Blind Aid. (If Proposition No. 2 is adopted, aid to the aged and blind again will be administered by the counties under rules established by the legislature and a state board of social welfare nominated by the governor and approved by the senate). Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* September 1949. 2 pp.

San Francisco Pays for Increased Pensions. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, November 1, 1949. 2 pp.

Books in Review

Cincinnati, Then and Now. By Iola O. Hessler. Cincinnati, League of Women Voters, 1949. 163 pp.

Once again the League of Women Voters performs the important task of rounding out the equipment of local schools with an admirable text of history and government to fill the gap inevitably left by standard text books which must be designed for use in cities anywhere. Such texts have to get vague when describing local government and deal in generalities and alternatives. This Cincinnati text relates the history of Cincinnati in good narrative with ample consideration of the succession of industry and changing conditions which constitute its economic history.

Finally, it describes past and current city government features—Cincinnati's proportional representation elections, city planning, housing and other major problems—with careful completeness, making appropriate reading not only for school children but for their parents.

If the schools steadily make full use of the text so that all children of Cincinnati will go through it in their turns, it will constitute a massive contribution to civic education in that city.

R. S. C.

The Forty-eight State School Systems. A study of the Organization, Administration and Financing of Public Elementary and Secondary Education. Francis S. Chase, director of research; Edgar L. Morphet, associate director. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. x, 245 pp. $4.

A valuable compilation of facts from all the diverse state school systems with 21 comparative tables, covering structure, procedures, finances and trends. The conclusions bewail inadequate salaries at the top and inadequate research and statistics as guides for policy in most states. A fine new companion for the *Municipal Year Book!*

American Men in Government. A Biographical Dictionary and Directory of Federal Officials. Edited by Jerome M. Rosow. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949. xxiii, 472 pp. $7.50.

Condensed biographies, in *Who's Who* style, of 1,570 key officials in the national government. The occupants of 3,000 departmental posts are also listed.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Budget

The Control of the Public Budget. By Vincent J. Browne. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949. 174 pp. $2.75 paper; $3.25 cloth.

Civil Liberties

In the Shadow of Fear. American Liberties 1948-49, Annual Report. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1949. 88 pp.

Crime

Second Progress Reports of the Special Crime Study Commissions. (Includes reports of Special Commissions on Organized Crime, Juvenile Justice, Adult Corrections and Release Procedures, Social and Economic Causes of Crime and Delinquency, and Criminal Law and Procedure.) Sacramento, California State Board of Corrections, 1949. 128, 23, 23, 23, and 83 pp. respectively.

Economic Policies

Toward Building a Better America. An International Committee Report.) By Frank Altschul. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 19 pp. 35 cents.

Report of the ECA — Commerce Commission. To Investigate Possibilities of Increasing Western Europe's Dollar Earnings. Washington, D. C., Economic Cooperation Administration, 1949. viii, 227 pp.

Education

Critical Issues and Trends in American Education. Edited by E. Duncan Grizzell and Lee O. Garber. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* September 1949. vii, 231 pp. $2.

Federal Reorganization

Progress on Hoover Commission Recommendations. Report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1949. 388 pp.

Government Calendar

Kansas Governmental Calendar. Statutory Dates for Counties, Cities, Schools, Townships and Other Governmental Units as Prescribed for Their Officers, Boards and Commissions. July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1949. 96 pp. $2.50.

Housing

Housing — Public Housing, Slum Clearance, Quasi-public Housing, F.H.A. Housing, January 1946—July 1949. Report to Mayor William O'Dwyer. New York City, Housing Authority, 1949. 92 pp. illus.

The Local Community Job under the Housing Act of 1949. Bulletin for Leaders of Local Community Groups. Background, What the Act Does, How the Programs Operate, How Community Groups May Cooperate. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1949. 26 pp.

Postwar Residential Construction in the New York Metropolitan District. New York, Bowery Savings Bank, 1949. 19 pp.

Labor

The Fair Labor Standards Act as Amended. Analysis and Section-by-Section Commentary. By Editorial Staff. Washington 7, D. C., Bureau of National Affairs, 1949. 38 pp. 30 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders; minimum order $2).

Labor Relations

Labor Relations in the New York Rapid Transit Systems 1904-1944. By James J. McGinley, S.J. New York, Columbia University, King's Crown Press, 1949. xxiii, 635 pp. $6.50.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of natural resources, including addresses delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Oklahoma City, March 27-30, 1949, and a report presented at the 28th annual meeting of the National Conference on State Parks, held at Sebring, Florida, December 13-17, 1948. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1949. xii, 180 pp. $3.

Annual Report Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission. Detroit, the Commission, 1949. 19 pp. illus.

Longview. The Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City. By John M. McClelland, Jr. Portland, Oregon, Binfords & Mort, 1949. x, 158 pp. $3.

Neighborhoods, Recreation and Schools. A Master Plan Study. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1948. viii, 81 pp. maps. $2.

Six Year Capital Improvement Program 1950-1955. Seventh Annual Report. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1949. 97 pp.

Public Administration

Bibliography on Public Administration — Annotated. By Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. Washington, D. C., American University Press, 1949. vii, 55 pp. $2.

Human Relations in Public Administration—An Exploratory Report on Research Possibilities. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1949. 23 pp.

Public Health

How Shall We pay for Health Care? By Oscar R. Ewing and George F. Lull. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1949. 32 pp. 20 cents.

Public Ownership

The TVA Idea. By Dean Russell. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Development, 1949. 108 pp. 75 cents.

Recreation

Personnel Standards in Recreation Leadership. What They Are. How to Apply Them. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1949. 47 pp. 50 cents.

Shopping Centers

Market Analysis of Shopping Centers. By Homer Hoyt. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1949. 7 pp. $2. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Smoke Abatement

Report of the Investigation into the Control of Smog. By Assembly Interim Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy. Sacramento, California Legislature, Assembly, 1949. 21 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1949. 47 pp.

Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, 1949. 30 pp.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, 1949. 12 pp.

Total Tax Collections in 1948. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, October 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Town Meeting

The Connecticut Town Meeting. A Handbook for Moderators and Other Town Meeting Officials. By Max R. White. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1949. 25 cents.

LABOR'S STAKE IN CIVIC AFFAIRS

(Continued from page 545)

part of the community and that our lives are just as rich or poor as the life of the community. We use the library, our kids go to school, we ride the street cars—yes, we even go to the concerts of our symphony orchestras.

That is why you will find labor active politically in your community. That is why you will find that labor unions are working in a democratic fashion to make our cities and villages a better place in which to live. That is why you will find us joined with you in battling for better housing, better community facilities, better government.

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Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.05
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Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934)	.75
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 16 pages (1935)	.35
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

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Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan, 36 pages (1949)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25
Reorganization of State Governments in the United States, by A. E. Buck, 299 pages (1938)	1.00
Short Ballot, by Richard S. Childs, 30 pages (1930)	.15

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